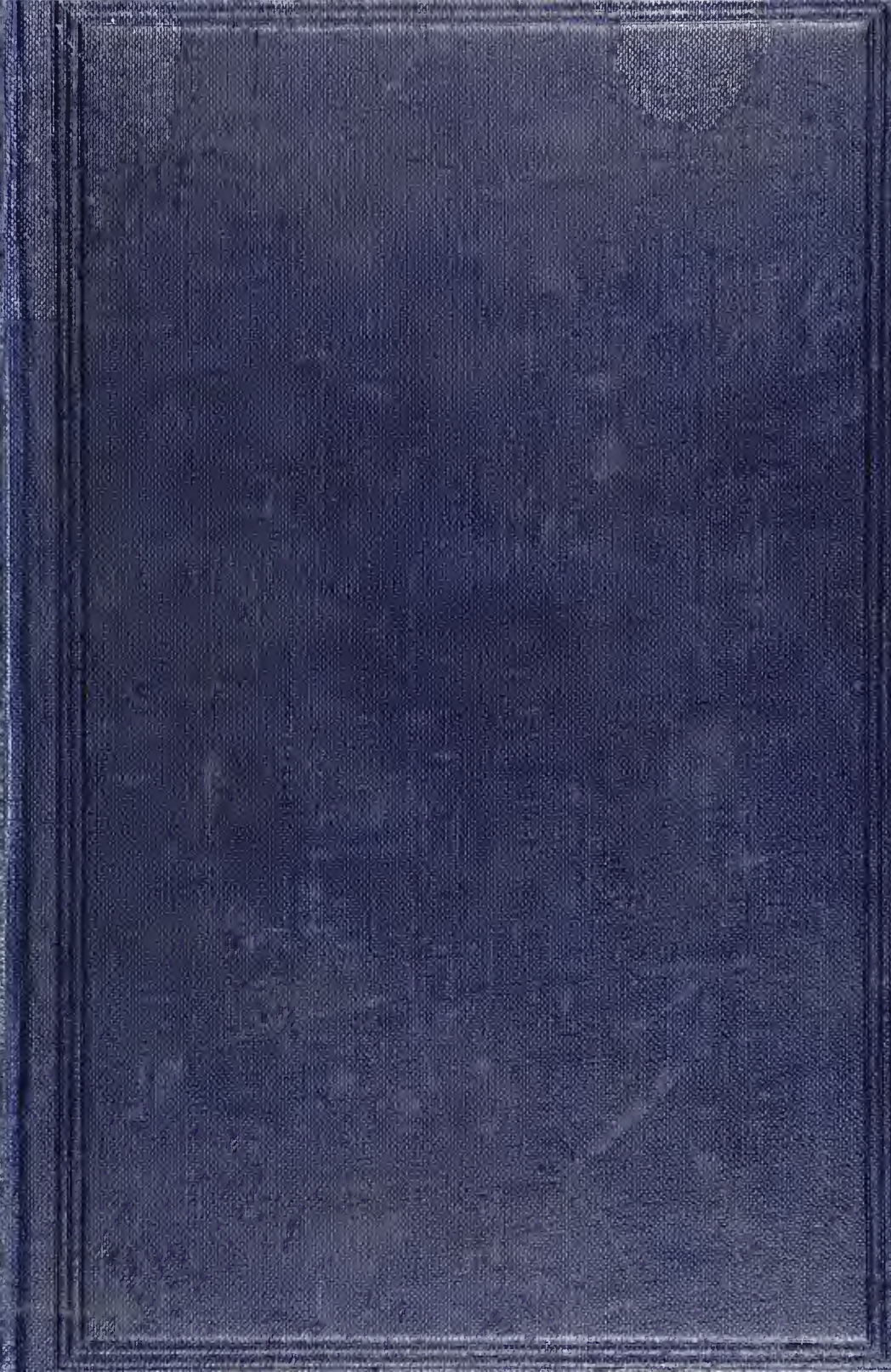
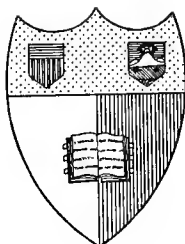




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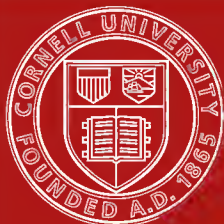
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EARLY CORRESPONDENCE
OF LORD JOHN RUSSELL



LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

(Painted by Sir George Hayler; engraved by James Bromley; published 1836.)

Early Correspondence of Lord John Russell 1805-40

EDITED BY HIS SON
ROLLO RUSSELL

VOL. I

T. FISHER UNWIN
LONDON: ADELPHI TERRACE
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PREFACE

THE present volumes are the outcome of a protracted sifting and examination during the last ten years of a confused mass of papers which had apparently never been put in order since they were received, and of a selection from the well-arranged but only slightly used correspondence belonging to the period of official life from the Reform Bill to 1840.

Many of the earlier letters were only just legible from age, and many of the later, especially Brougham's and Melbourne's, were from the character of the handwriting hardly decipherable.

Of the political correspondence I have selected only a small proportion. A few of the letters have been printed before in Walpole's "Life of Lord John Russell," or in Moore's "Diary and Correspondence"; others, though relevant, have been omitted owing to their having appeared in print before. Material during the eventful years 1831 and 1832 is singularly meagre, partly perhaps owing to the extreme pressure of parliamentary work and of general correspondence and to the non-administrative, reputedly sinecure position of the Paymaster-General.

The space given to such a subject as Irish tithes, now almost forgotten, is justified when we find that multitudes of the Irish people, according to one estimate as many as a million, perished through the cruelty of the exaction.

Reference to the Introduction will in most cases explain allusions in the letters, and short biographical notes concerning correspondents will be found in the Appendix.

The letters of King William IV, of Queen Victoria, and of the Duchess of Kent are given by the gracious permission of the King.

I acknowledge with thanks to writers' representatives who were accessible the leave granted by them for publication.

The correspondence as a whole reflects on many sides and in many ways the character of the period, of parties, and of men of action in the first half of the most brilliant century in the history of the world. It ends with the promise, gloriously fulfilled, of the reign of Victoria.

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(From a painting formerly in the possession of Lord John
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(From a painting by Samuel Cotes. Photographed by G.
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Early Correspondence of Lord John Russell

INTRODUCTION

JOHN RUSSELL, third son of John, sixth Duke of Bedford, was born in Hertford Street, London, on August 18, 1792. His mother was a lady of distinction, Georgiana Byng, daughter of Lord Torrington, and through her loving care his early years were in the best sense happy. A beautiful little letter from her is the first of all letters which remain, and was most likely the first which he received from her. 1792

In 1796 she wrote to her sister, Lady Weymouth, of her husband, then Lord John Russell : 1796
“ If there is a character on earth who deserves the reverence of mankind, it is the man to whom I am united. His principles are superior to those of every person whom I ever met with. . . . Heaven grant him a long life, for certain I am that it will grow every day more needful to his fellow-citizens. Not so with mine, sweet Isabella ; it is unfortunately bowed down, bent like the willow, never to rise again. . . . ”

"I was very fond of her," wrote her son in his old age. "I used to call her in the morning, and from that hour during the whole of the day she showed me the utmost affection. I used to delight in reading to her Plutarch's Lives in the morning."

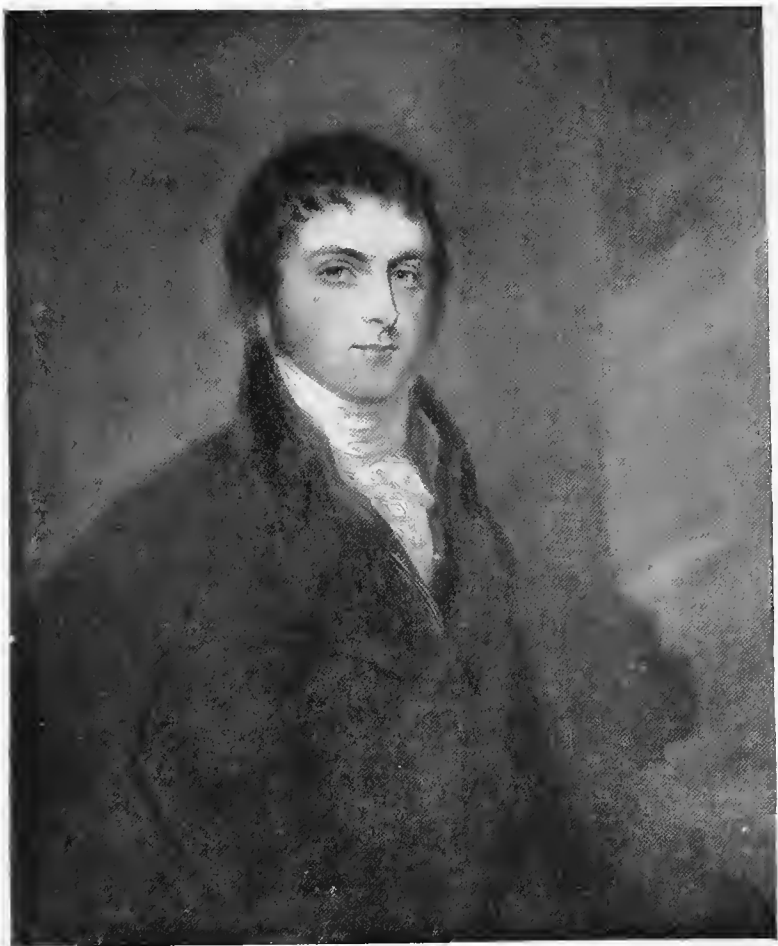
1801 His childhood was passed chiefly at Stratton Park, in Hampshire, and at Oakley, in Bedfordshire, till he was nine years old. In 1801 he was sent to school at Sunbury, where his two elder brothers and other boys, whose names have become well known in political life, were pupils. It was while he was there in 1801 that his mother wrote the touching letter alluded to. He had been at school only a short time when, on October 11th, he and his brother William heard of her sudden death.

In the following year, March, 1802, his uncle Francis, fifth Duke, died by an accident.

In 1803 Fox gave testimony to his qualities in the following words: "To be useful, whether to the public at large, whether to his relations and nearer friends, or even to any individual of his species, was the ruling passion of his life."

The commemorative speech of Fox on "this great and excellent man" in the House of Commons is to my mind one of the noblest eulogies ever written. Copies of it, as printed by Ridgway, are rare.

On the accession of John's father, then Member for Tavistock, to the dukedom, in the 1802 spring of 1802, his home was thenceforth



FRANCIS, FIFTH DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(From a painting formerly in the possession of Lord John Russell.)

Woburn Abbey. The new Duke was a parliamentary reformer, a member of the Society of Friends of the People, and altogether a generous-minded and enlightened man. He was an excellent father; his letters to his son during his active life were very numerous, often almost daily, keeping him in constant touch with political affairs and conversations. He was keenly interested in education, a liberal patron of art and literature, a friend of farmers and a student of agriculture, a host who through a great part of the year gathered at Woburn Abbey many people of social and political eminence.

In 1803 he married Georgiana, fourth daughter of the Duke of Gordon. She was a good mother to her three step-children. In course of time three daughters and seven sons were born to her; through them the descendants of the sixth Duke have formed an exceedingly numerous clan. 1803

On August 29, 1803, John began keeping a journal, which gives a good idea of how a boy's time was filled up in those days: hunting with harriers, 4 a.m.; shooting, riding, driving, play-going (very frequent), much reading, and many games and amusements. In September, 1803, he joined his brother at Westminster School, where nothing but Latin was taught. A single extract from his well-kept diary will be sufficient for the Westminster period: "I have broke up for the holidays. How jolly! I went to the play again to-night at Covent

Garden to see 'Macbeth' and 'Raising the Wind.' Kemble and Mrs. Siddons were Lord and Lady Macbeth." Seven days later he saw "Othello" at Drury Lane. Although he was fortunate in being fag only to his brother, in those days of harsh fagmasters,¹ the roughness and severity of the routine at the school affected his health, and in the summer of 1804 his step-mother, the Duchess, insisted on removing him, and for some months thereafter he was so fortunate as to come under the tutorial guidance of Dr. Cartwright, brother of Major Cartwright, "the famous reformer." Dr. Cartwright was at that time domestic chaplain at Woburn Abbey, and from him, "who was a man of much learning and great mechanical ingenuity," John Russell wrote in his old age that he acquired a taste for Latin poetry which never left him.

Dr. Cartwright² was indeed a man of remarkable ability. He invented a machine for carding wool and a model boat moved by clockwork, but greatest of all his inventions was the first practical power loom, which effected a revolution in manufacturing England, and led to wide social changes. Cartwright also wrote poetry and letters which were published. He soon perceived that the mental digestion of his pupil was "competent to more solid nutriment than anything he had as yet supplied him with."

1804 In 1804 John Russell began to compose a

¹ See Lord Tavistock's letter, Walpole, vol. i, p. 9.

² See Memoir of Edmund Cartwright, D.D., published in 1843.

drama in fun ; in that and the following year he wrote much in prose and verse, most of it with a good deal of innuendo and epigram or sarcastic allusions to himself and others. His first volume, which I have, is inscribed on the title-page : " The Works of John Russell, LL.D., A.S.S., &c.," with a Dedication to William Pitt, praying that he " may remain at the helm of State long enough to bestow a pension on your very humble and obedient servant."

In February, 1805, he was sent to a private school at Woodnesboro', where he stayed till 1808. Some of his companions there, besides his two brothers, were the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Leinster, Lord Clare, and Lord Cahir. The school seems to have had few merits, and the boys passed an easy time, with plenty of amusement, including playgoing, cards, and gambling among themselves or with their master.

In the autumn of 1805 John Russell received the first letter from his father which has been preserved. He was then staying at Kimbolton, for the wedding of his aunt, Lady Madalina Sinclair. During the winter he wrote and spoke the prologue to " John Bull " in a performance at Woburn. Soon after returning to Woodnesboro', on the death of Mr. Pitt, a report was current that Lord Hawkesbury might succeed him as Prime Minister. Upon this the boy of thirteen wrote a parody of the dagger scene in " Macbeth." As he afterwards looked back

with contempt at the many verses he wrote during these years, I will leave them without further notice.

1806 While on a visit to Fox in June, 1806, the acquittal of Lord Melville was discussed; he laconically noted in his journal: "What a pity, that he who steals a penny loaf should be hung, whilst he who steals thousands of the public money should be acquitted."

During 1806 he occupied himself with much reading and writing on his own account, and with plenty of outdoor sport—walking, riding, shooting, cricket, races—he often dined out, and took part in the festivities of the sheep-shearing at Woburn in June. Immediately after his visit to the Foxes in London, he and his brother drove to Weston, to stay with their uncle, Lord Bradford; hence they travelled to Ireland, were becalmed in the Irish Channel, and reached Phoenix Park, Dublin, in the evening of the second day. His father had been given the office of Viceroy in the "Talents" Ministry. Going through Dublin he noted: "Parts of it very beautiful. Every other house a punch house. No gentilities walking." At Viceregal Lodge his days were full of amusement, "a great many people were provoked [the phrase for invited] to dinner," and there was a fancy ball for the Regent's birthday.

On August 18th his journal records his own birthday: "I am fourteen years old. I am 4 feet 9½ inches high and about 5 stone 3

weight." The new diary begins : " The Journal and Accounts of Johannes Russell, &c., &c., &c. The whole collected, compiled, written, observed, arranged, beautified, corrected, amended, expunged, published, and read by himself, Vol. II, with additions." Here follow grandiloquent quotations from " Othello " and " Henry VIII."

The death of Fox in this year, he wrote, " deprived England of more mental energy than will perhaps be united again in one man for many, many years." ¹

The fall of the Talents Administration was due 1807 to a dispatch of the Duke of Bedford—" which embodied the hereditary policy of the Russells " —the admission of Roman Catholics into the army and to the office of Sheriff. The alarm of the Regent and of the country generally at this proposal broke up the Cabinet, and a Tory Ministry succeeded to office. On " a senseless and unfounded " cry of " No Popery," wrote Lord John, every Whig was called a Papist. Bigotry won the day.

On August 3, 1807, he travelled with his parents through England and Scotland, and wrote a journal " during a tour to the Lakes and Scotland." On August 16th he notes : " Walter Scott, the minstrel of the nineteenth century, came to breakfast with us. He afterwards went with me to Melrose Abbey, one of the most beautiful ruins perhaps in the world." Sir Walter was then living at Ashestiel. Ascending the

¹ Journal, October 8, 1806.

Tweed, they crossed into the valley of the Clyde, visited factories and ironworks, admired the handsome streets of Glasgow, then passed through Stirling, Callander, the Trossachs and Glencoe to Inverary. Of the Trossachs he wrote: "Never did I see so fine an assemblage of mountains, . . . Loch Kittarin [Katrine] instantly delighted us." This was before "The Lady of the Lake" was published. Through Killiecrankie and Blair-Athol they drove to Kinara, the Duchess of Bedford's home on the Spey, and ended their northward journey at Inverness. On the return, the place he admired most after Edinburgh was Durham.

1808 After three months of Scotland and the North, and after a term of Woodnesboro', he arrived at Woburn, on December 28th. In August, 1808, his brother Tavistock, at twenty, was married to Lady Anna Maria Stanhope.

During his time at school he had read for his own amusement several books of history, some travels, and much poetry, English, French, and Italian.

In October, 1808, he joined Lord and Lady Holland at Falmouth for a tour in Spain, which had long been planned. They were detained there more than a fortnight waiting for Admiralty orders and for a N.E. wind, and only arrived at Corunna on November 3rd. There they found four English regiments, some Spanish friends, and a large theatre. Much of the journey of nine months in Spain has been related

in the recently published volume, so far as the Hollands were concerned, but John Russell kept a diary of his own, full of incident and observation. From Corunna they rode to Vigo, Coimbra, Pombal, and Lisbon, a long cavalcade with Lady Holland and nine men on mules, many muleteers, soldiers, and two litters. Early in 1809 January they spent some days at Lisbon; on January 21st they set out for Seville. Sir John Moore had just been defeated and killed at Corunna, but although the French reoccupied Northern Portugal and had many successes in Spain, the travellers remained in safety at Seville for several months till May 11th. There Lord John saw "many of the most remarkable Spaniards" and learned to talk Spanish. He much enjoyed the climate and society, and would gladly have prolonged his stay. Lord and Lady Holland and he endeavoured to return via Cadiz, but failed in finding convenient transport, and eventually had to pass through Badajoz and unhealthy Estremadura, where he caught a fever, to Lisbon, whence they sailed in mid-July for England. His experience of the campaign taught him much: conviction of the mismanagement of a glorious cause by generals and statesmen, the necessity of a more vigorous prosecution of the war, the mistaken despondency of the Whigs, knowledge of the Spanish character, a strong sympathy with democratic aspirations. During his journeys he often went eight or nine hours a day without looking at a book; but he

managed to read several books of Tacitus, four books of Virgil, two books of the Odes of Horace, four books of Livy, some of Sallust and of Cicero. He also learned some Euclid and French. On his voyage home Lord Holland and Mr. Allen, librarian at Holland House, had added their arguments to his father's in favour of a course of study at Edinburgh. The Duke had a very poor opinion of the "pretended education" of English universities. His son disliked the idea of Edinburgh, but was at last persuaded and wrote to his father, "I hope you will do what you think best for me without consulting my inclinations."

He was sent to Edinburgh University to remain in the house and under the tuition of Professor Playfair, whom he afterwards described as one of the most delightful of men, and at the same time one of the most profound mathematicians of his age and country. "There I had my studies directed and my character developed by one of the best and the noblest, the most upright, the most benevolent, and the most liberal of all philosophers." A memorial of Playfair is, I am told, now to be found on the Calton Hill, near that erected in memory of Dugald Stewart, with whom he was much associated, and who was also an honoured friend of Russell. No period of his life was more profitable than the three sessions of 1809-12 spent in Edinburgh. He was elected to the Speculative Society, and took part in the debates; he opened one on the

education of the poor, read a paper on the Spanish Cortes early in 1811, and spoke on both abstract and practical questions during the session of 1812. His father much approved of the essay on the Cortes, and appreciated the "thorough knowledge" shown therein of the session of 1812. Among the subjects discussed was the question whether Canada is of use to Great Britain; he gave his casting vote in the affirmative.

In 1810 he wrote, apparently only for private ¹⁸¹⁰ use, a review, of which several numbers still exist, called "The Whig Register." In 1811 ¹⁸¹¹ a long article on Parliamentary Reform showed his early interest in the subject. "We should proceed," he suggested, "by Bill. First, perhaps, a Bill for Triennial Parliaments, then a Bill for the purchase of a few of the boroughs, as Mr. Pitt proposed, and an extension of the franchise to Manchester, Birmingham," &c.

In all his work he received the constant encouragement of his father.

His brother, Lord William Russell, was at least as strong a Whig as Lord John, and more nearly Radical. He was serving in the Peninsula in 1809, and was wounded at the Battle of Talavera. On one occasion he was under very heavy fire, many of his companions were made prisoners; a French officer cried "Prisonnier!" to him, but replying "Pas encore!" he galloped off after a desperate struggle.

In the summer of 1810 John again sailed for

Spain, embarking on board the frigate *Latona*, a troopship. After touching Gibraltar on September 12th and Cadiz on the 16th, he took up his quarters at Lord Lynedoch's house, where he remained till October 22nd, finding much of interest in the Cortes and in the campaign. At the end of October he accompanied Captains Stanhope and Walpole, bearers of dispatches, in a journey to Lisbon. Riding into the village of Torres Vedras with General Hill, and along the tops of mountains and through deep valleys, he reached the headquarters of the Duke of Wellington. He was much struck by the "great commander's piercing eyes and eagle countenance, which gave assurance of vigour and capacity." "He welcomed us all and told us he was hand and glove with the French." At four in the morning they breakfasted and immediately set out to ride to Sobral, where Wellington passed the greater part of the day. A few days later John returned to England alone, and dined at Holland House, bearing the latest news, in less than a fortnight after sailing from Lisbon. On November 19th he spoke at the Speculative Society. In the winter his friends devised means to keep him in his own country, and his father proposed a tour of the great manufacturing towns during the summer of 1811, with Professor Playfair. The story of these peregrinations, which included Warwick, Kenilworth (where they dined with Dr. Parr, "a learned monster of the first order"), Birmingham,

Liverpool, Manchester, Chatsworth, Sheffield, and Leeds, is recorded in two large notebooks labelled "Russell's Three-Weeks' Tour."

In 1812 John went to London, passed a week in command of a company of militia in Bedfordshire, and in August again sailed for Spain, in company with Mr. Clive, second son of Earl Powis, and Mr. Bridgeman, eldest son of his uncle, the first Earl of Bradford. In the letter to his cousin Gertrude announcing his departure, he told her of the birth of his half-sister, "a beautiful child," known seventy years later to the present generation as the Dowager Duchess of Abercorn. Regretting their incapacity as artists, he wished his cousin could have been with them, "for we cannot one of us make wittingly either a straight or crooked line." He was always most awkward at all handiwork, and in drawing or music would have been quite inept.

His fifth tour in Spain is described in five small manuscript volumes. His twentieth year was completed "in a fine frigate," on the voyage to Cadiz, with a prospect of many months of wandering. "Is there any situation happier?" he asks; and indeed he was an excellent traveller, content with very little food, no ordinary comforts and luxuries, and "roughing it" in a haphazard fashion among primitive folk in the midst of war.

After a very long voyage they arrived at Oporto. Thence they made their way by unusual routes, via Busaco and Arrouca, to Lamego. He

hardly ever mentions the dirt, the vermin, the coarse food and "pigsties by way of inns" which Mr. Bridgeman and others could hardly endure. He often had to be satisfied with a heap of straw for a bed, and carried hardly any belongings except a change of shoes, a gun and sword, pens and paper, and a dressing-case, for he rode from place to place for weeks, and had to depend on his horse alone.

On returning to Oporto they took part in the festivities and balls following the arrival of Marshal Beresford, and on September 16th set out for Madrid. Passing several battlefields, they arrived at Villatoro, Wellington's headquarters near Burgos, on October 19th. The castle of Burgos was still held by 2,000 of the French, a large French army occupied the north bank of the river; it was a critical moment.

1813 Later they returned to Cadiz and remained there till the end of January, 1813. In April John left his companions and accomplished an adventurous journey to Frenida, expecting to find his brother at headquarters there. From Lord Fitzroy Somerset's ¹ quarters there he rode to Plasencia, Talavera, and Madrid. There he heard of the victory of June 21st, at Vittoria, which caused such joy as he had never seen before. Driving to Valencia on July 17th, they reached that town after a fortnight's travel and visited Majorca and Minorca, whence Mr. Clive and Mr. Bridgeman went on to Sicily. Russell

¹ Afterwards Lord Raglan.

took a ship of war to Port Mahon, sailed thence to Tarragona, crossed Spain, and returned to England.

While at Wellington's headquarters on the borders of Portugal, a vacancy had occurred in the representation of Tavistock, and Russell, though still under age, was, in July, 1813, nominated by his father and duly elected by the borough.

The event is not recorded in the journal, but he wrote briefly on his friends continuing the journey: "Finding that I must undergo forty days' quarantine if I went on to Sicily, I gave it up and resolved to go home."

The journey across Spain was full of interest. After breakfast with Captain Adam on board the *Invincible*, a three-days visit to Admiral Hallowell's flagship, the *Malta*, and a short stay with Lord Frederick Bentinck, at Reus, he started, in company with Mr. Locker, with mules for Saragoza, which was half in ruins after the famous siege. Thence they made their way to Wellington's headquarters at Vera. With his brother William he went to the Highland Brigade and approached the high hill La Rune, traversing that fine country, fascinating even now to Englishmen, the scene of operations so ably described in Sir William Napier's "Peninsular War." He afterwards wrote: "I could not but feel admiration and joy on beholding the General, whom I had visited in a critical position defending with difficulty the capital of

Portugal, now advancing in command of an admirable army to the invasion of France."

Here we may observe, in regard to Wellington, that despite political differences, he maintained, in the language of an article in the *Times*, "through the fierce political conflict of later years, the attitude and language of profound respect and almost of veneration."

1813 On November 4, 1813, Parliament met. On May 12, 1814, Russell made his maiden speech, it was in opposition to the despotic enforcement of the union of Sweden and Norway, and on July 14th he opposed the Alien Acts Renewal Bill, but there is little record of his speeches.

1814 In 1814 he was elected a member of Grillion's Club. For many years after, and when a Cabinet Minister, he often took part in their jolly gatherings, where party antipathies were forgotten. Towards the end of the year he again went south, and after five weeks spent at sea and in a lazaretto, he "returned to the habitations of man" in Italy, stayed a short time at Florence, where complaints of wet and cold and bad inns left him unconcerned, and set out with Captain Adye and Mr. Whitmore to visit Napoleon at Elba. The visit has been described in several memoirs, and I give in this volume a short allusion to it in a letter hitherto, I think, unpublished. Respecting it I may say, that on December 30, 1909, I received, in reply to an inquiry, the following confirmation of a report I had heard that Napoleon had on that occa-

sion expressed to Russell his conviction that the Duke of Wellington aimed at the monarchy of Great Britain for himself. Mr. Justin McCarthy wrote to me : " The statement I made was given on no lesser authority than your illustrious father himself. . . . Napoleon's words of course only impressed Lord John Russell with a sense, half amused and half pathetic, of his utter ignorance of the conditions of English constitutional life." ¹

From Elba he journeyed to Rome, which he found a dull place, but full of inspiration, which made it interesting ; then to Naples, Pompeii, Paestum, Frascati, and Tivoli, and in May returned through Germany and Holland to England.

In the House of Commons on June 5, 1815, ¹⁸¹⁵ he protested against the new war, which he considered impolitic, unjust, and iniquitous. He could not conceive what right we had to compel France to receive any particular form of government.

During these last few years he had devoted himself, not only to politics but to literature, and had written occasional verse, a few lines of which may be here quoted as showing the bent of his mind. The following from an essay on Vanity were apparently written in 1813 :—

" . . . The smallest pearl, when in a necklace set,
Has gained a value from the pearls it met.
Thus in man's path of life may I have power
To smooth one rougher plant or single flower ;

¹ See the passage in McCarthy's " Epochs of Reform."

And if but once my care can give delight,
If to the stock of joys I add my mite,
If to my heirs I can entail a name
That all my line may honourably claim,
If to my God my heart be always true . . .

But if for me, by sad decree of fate,
Sorrow impends, alone I'll bear the weight ;
Then be my heart like ocean, common road
For all, but only for the dead abode.
Man shall not sound the deep o'er which he steers
And none shall count its treasures or its tears."

Looking back over the fifteen years preceding 1816, his biographer notes that he had made the acquaintance of Fox, Holland, and all the chiefs of the Whig party, of the best society in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, had visited Melrose with Walter Scott, had travelled through the Scottish Highlands and English towns, had ridden with Wellington along the lines of Torres Vedras, had gazed on the operations of the Spanish and French borders, had spoken with Napoleon at Elba, had read Camoens in Portugal and Tasso in Italy, had read much poetry and history in several languages, and had denounced the new war in the House of Commons, armed with an intimate knowledge of the affairs of Europe.

1816 In 1816, on February 1st and 16th, Russell, deeply moved by the misery of the people which followed the great war, seconded an amendment by Mr. Brand condemning the Ministry for their high-handed methods, and demanding a rigid

inquiry into expenditure. He regarded the proposed continuance of a high income tax as a "dreadful calamity." He led the opposition to the Army Estimates. The proposal to keep up an army of 150,000 men "must alarm every friend to his country and its Constitution." The maintenance of an immense regular force would mean that "the people must bid farewell to that freedom which they have so long and anxiously preserved." Later in the same month he opposed the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

The Government motion was carried, but, as Russell afterwards wrote, "the projects of 1816 were defeated" and "our poverty and distress saved the Constitution."

The huge expense of the long war brought the country to a state of terrible destitution, ill countered by severe repressive laws, which treated opposition to the Ministry culminating in disorder as levying war against the King and high treason.

The tremendous iniquities of laws and customs imposed by the owners of land are well and strikingly portrayed in a recent book, "The Village Labourer."¹

In December, 1816, the price of wheat was 103 shillings a quarter. Wages were much lower than at present; ten shillings a week was an ordinary rate. The strain, the starvation, were insupportable. The law-abiding people of the eastern counties formed themselves into bands

¹ By J. L. and B. Hammond.

of rioters known as Luddites; the extreme Radicals drew up a charter of reform, and under the name of Chartists advocated political measures of far-reaching and permanent value, most of which have been gradually adopted in the ninety-six years which have succeeded.

The Duke of Bedford, Lord John's father, wrote to Lord Grenville, when asked to serve on a Lords' Committee of Inquiry, that his Irish experience led him to the conviction that the ordinary law, rather than strong repressive measures, if administered with temper and firmness, would be sufficient to quell the disturbances. In Ireland the serious disorder which he found on his appointment ceased, and a state of peace was brought about without coercive measures, and with safety and dignity to the Government.

1817 The Committee, however, advised in accordance with the views of Ministers, and a Bill to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and for preventing "seditious meetings" roused Lord John Russell to leave his retirement, which was near being permanent, and to protest most vigorously in the House, February 26, 1817, against the proposal to take away, even for a short period, "the rights and liberties of Englishmen." "Without waiting to ask if they have been loyal, if they have been reticent under suffering, and enduring in the depth of misery, he turns to them and says: 'Because you are starving, you shall be deprived of the protection of the

ordinary law, your only remaining comfort.' We talk too much," he exclaimed, "of the wisdom of our ancestors. I wish we would imitate the courage of our ancestors. Anxious as I am for reform, I am still more anxious that the House shall preserve the respect of the people."

Sir Francis Burdett followed, and said the name of Russell was dear to every Englishman, and he was gratified to hear the noble lord with so much manliness and ability support those rights in defence of which his revered ancestor lost his life.

His appeal was in vain. The Bill became law. He again retired from the arena, and told his friends of his intention to abandon political life altogether. This was the occasion of Moore's famous remonstrance.

His brother William, from whom I give many letters in this volume, was married in 1817 to Miss Rawdon, of the Hastings family, a lady commemorated by Byron in "Beppo" and in later life well known and respected in all the Courts of Europe.¹ William again became aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington, now in command of the army of occupation in France. John Russell, again abroad, spent much of his time in the brilliant society which gathered round the great commander; the days passed most agreeably and far from idly: he was not only studying European affairs and the constitutional history of

¹ The "Bessy" of William's letters.

England, but engaging in literary work of various kinds. His "Essays and Sketches" were written during the period 1815 to 1818; the "Life of William, Lord Russell" was published in 1819; and occasional articles and verses appeared from time to time with or without his name. Among these were translations of passages from Homer and Virgil.

1818 The winter of 1817 Russell spent at Florence. In 1818 Parliament was dissolved, and on June 18th he and his uncle William Russell were elected for Tavistock. The Conservative Ministry maintained its forces, and the Whig Opposition was weak both in numbers and in leaders.

Russell, however, had recuperated his parliamentary vigour and attended the House assiduously. He supported Tierney's motion for an inquiry into domestic and foreign policy, took part in proceedings for restraining bribery, condemned the surrender of Parga to the Turks, attacked the proposed increase of excise duties, and spoke in favour of moderate reform in representation, but against Sir F. Burdett's scheme, which was regarded as visionary. To Russell the cession of Parga to the Turks by the British Government was a hateful act; he protested against it in 1819 and 1820, and contributed money through Ugo Foscolo for the support of the Parguinotes, who from a position of comparative independence were coolly made over to Ottoman rule.

Ugo Foscolo had met him some years before at Geneva, and wrote of him as "doué d'un âme noble et d'un esprit distingué, mais surtout il a une aimabilité que l'on trouve rarement parmi ses concitoyens," and as "l'un des défenseurs de la liberté des hommes."

George Ticknor, who met him in 1819, wrote of him: "Lord John is a young man of a good deal of literary knowledge and taste, from whose acquaintance I have had much pleasure."

In this year he wrote a pamphlet on foreign politics, strongly attacking the unworthy conduct of the British Government, which was destroying the character of England as "the friend of right and the protector of the rights and independence of nations." She has now "been found the follower and tool of the great continental monarchs, assisting their spoliations, and confirming their destruction of free governments, violating promises solemnly given, regardless of the cries and supplications of Europe."

The Duke of Bedford wrote on June 1st recommending foreign politics as the line which he should follow and all home politics bearing on civil and religious liberty. Tierney had expressed to the Duke his very high opinion of Russell's debating powers and of his speech on the motion on foreign affairs. The line then recommended was that to which he gave, during his whole career, an ever constant devotion. Reform, extension of popular rights, purity of elections and justice of administration, civil and

religious liberty at home and abroad, education, physical and moral welfare—these were the objects for which he strove heart and soul from his earliest to his latest days of activity. In 1818 he became acquainted with Thomas Moore, the Irish poet, author, musician, and wit ; though differing in politics, their friendship was a true and happy one, as the letters show.

1819 In November, 1819, Russell was summoned home from Italy, where he had spent some weeks, to the meeting of Parliament. Sir James Mackintosh had written to him : “ You are more wanted than anybody, not only for general service, but because your Reform must be immediately brought forward,”¹ and Mr. Allen : “ You are the person to make it [the movement for Reform] ; Mackintosh is completely of my mind ; Brougham is strongly impressed with the truth of both the propositions I have laid down. The state of the country is very alarming.” He was himself not sanguine of the result, and wrote to Moore : “ I am going to-day to make a little motion for Reform. The violent will not care for it and the other side will throw it out, and so my public utterances will cease for the present.” The time indeed seemed unfavourable.

The Ministry were proposing the Six Acts, a notorious further attack on British liberties.

On November 26, 1819, Russell recalled to the recollection of the House the notice which

¹ “ Speeches and Dispatches, Lord John Russell,” p. 171.

he had given at the close of last session relative to certain resolutions affecting the borough of Grampound. The purport of these resolutions was, shortly put : the expediency of disenfranchising that borough, of transferring the two seats to one or two of our populous and unrepresented cities, to consider the best means to prevent corruption in the smaller boroughs, the disfranchisement of those small boroughs in which the majority were found to be corrupt, the addition of representatives for large and populous cities.

On December 10, 1819, he spoke against noticing and punishing one libel among many others against the House of Commons appearing in newspapers and other publications.

On December 14, 1819, Russell made the speech and motion for a reform of Parliament, in which he used these words : " Manchester, which in 1778 had only 23,000 inhabitants, is now supposed to have 110,000 ; Leeds in 1775 had 17,117, in 1811, 62,534 ; Birmingham in 1700, 15,032, in 1811, 85,753 ; Sheffield, in which the first brick houses were built in 1696, had in 1811, 35,840 inhabitants. These places suffer a serious inconvenience from the want of representatives. It has been said by some persons that to give the franchise would be to introduce tumults and affrays. . . . I have often heard such an argument from the mouths of the Spanish clergy. But in England experience has taught us," as he showed, differently. " The hundred of Powder [Cornwall] is the most

fertile of the whole kingdom in Members of Parliament."

He closed his speech by proposing that corrupt boroughs in which gross bribery had prevailed should be disfranchised, that representation should be given to towns of over 15,000 and to some of the larger counties, that further means should be taken to detect and prevent corruption, that the borough of Grampound, proved grossly corrupt, should be disfranchised.

Lord Normanby seconded. The reception of his motion was discouraging.

1820 On February 18, 1820, he moved for leave to bring in a Bill to prevent the issue of writs to Grampound, Penryn, and Camelford. Barnstaple was also included.

On January 29, 1820, George III died and Parliament was dissolved.

Russell in the interval introduced a Bill disfranchising certain corrupt boroughs, but the discovery of the Cato Street Conspiracy set back the hopes of moderate reform; in the Parliament of 1820, on being elected for Huntingdonshire, he brought in a fresh Bill to transfer the seat at Grampound to Leeds; this motion was delayed by the landing of the Queen and her proceedings against the King, George IV. He strongly supported the Queen, and joined Mr. Joseph Hume in his motion for the fair consideration of her claims. Moore alluded in his diary to the petition to the King which he drew up as "a clever paper written by my friend Lord John

. . . full of good sense, moderation, and talent." In other ways he showed his independence of the Court, but the King was determined to degrade the Queen and Ministers were subservient. The disgraceful trial of the Queen for a long time occupied the public mind, and parliamentary work, especially Reform, was again delayed.

Moore had been in money difficulties through the failure of his deputy in Bermuda, and had taken refuge in Paris. Russell insisted on setting aside for the poet's benefit a sum that he had received for his "Life of Lord Russell." Another part of his available resources he "made it a service of duty" to spend for the Parguinotes (of Parga), dispossessed from their homes, and for Whitbread's election; he also offered the "remainder" of his book to Moore. Lord Tavistock contributed £200 and other good friends liberally, and Moore by his own exertions and literary reputation was in a year or two able to meet his creditors.

From 1820 to 1832 Russell occupied the Hundreds Farm, close to Woburn Park. Here he kept his library, and in this quiet retreat he prepared much of his work, both literary and political. In 1820 he produced two small books, "Essays" and "Letters," and in 1824 part of the "Affairs of Europe."

In 1821, at a meeting in Exeter Hall, he 1821 made a speech, in which he said: "Our country is now about to be distinguished for triumphs

the effect of which should be to save and not to destroy. Instead of laying waste the ground of our enemies, we may begin now to reap a more solid glory in the reform of abuses at home and in spreading happiness through millions of our population.”¹

In 1821 he proposed in the Bill disfranchising Grampound to give the two seats to Leeds. The Lords refused this transference, substituting Yorkshire County for Leeds.

In 1821 Lambton, afterwards Lord Durham, proposed triennial Parliaments, enfranchisement of all property-holders, and excision of rotten boroughs. The motion fell flat. On May 9, 1821, Russell moved resolutions for Reform, the enfranchisement of large towns, and against corruption, which were defeated by only thirty-one votes. On April 25, 1822, he proposed an addition of a hundred Members to the House, sixty for counties and forty for the great towns and commercial interests, a hundred of the smallest boroughs to lose one Member each. Moore, who heard the speech, described his speech as excellent, full of good sense and talent, occupying three hours, and listened to throughout with the profoundest attention. Canning made an eloquent speech of remonstrance, praised by Moore as “perfect in beauty of language,” in which he exclaimed: “His be the triumph to have precipitated these results; be mine the consolation that to the utmost

¹ See Pitman’s “Life of Mrs. Fry.”

and to the latest of my power I have opposed them!" Russell admired Canning, and regarded him as among the first of orators, but this magnificent battery failed to shake his purpose. The current, however, was too persistent against Reform to allow even the most moderate measure of progress to pass.

During 1822 he published "Don Carlos" and 1822-6
"The Nun of Arrouca." On February 20, 1823, he brought forward a motion respecting the right of voting, and on April 24th renewed motions for Reform. In 1823 he published a book on the English Constitution, one of his best works, and during the period 1824-9 the "Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe." On March 25, 1824, he moved for a Committee to inquire into labourers' wages. On March 28, 1825, he made a speech on the Roman Catholic claims, and supported a Bill for Roman Catholic Endowment. On May 2, 1822, he spoke on agricultural distress.

On April 26, 1826, Russell presented a 1826
petition from the men of the borough of Rye, and asked the House to take their grievance into serious consideration. The right of the franchise had been usurped and monopolised seventy years ago by one family. On these or similar propositions Russell was defeated by 111 in 1823 and by 124 in 1826. The force of opinion meanwhile accumulated behind the barrage of the Legislature, and in subsequent years he was able to lead the party to greater victories than any

then imagined to be possible. In 1826 he brought in an Anti-Bribery Bill, which was carried by the casting vote of the Speaker. Parliament was soon after dissolved, and he failed to obtain re-election in Hunts.

Out of Parliament, he wrote a letter, which his father described as "quite admirable," to Lord Althorp committing his Bill to him. It was published as a pamphlet by Ridgway, and reproduced in the *Times*. It constituted a very grave indictment against the prevailing system of bribery, and called for drastic reform.

Russell had spent the winter of 1824-5 in Italy. Now again in 1826 he sought change of scene and fresh knowledge in France, Switzerland, and Italy. At the request of his friends he returned from Florence,¹ and gave up wintering abroad in order to take up his task in the Commons, and in November, 1826, accepted the nomination to a seat at Bandon, kindly offered by the Duke of Devonshire.

1827 On the death of Lord Liverpool, in February, 1827, Canning was appointed Prime Minister. Russell and his brother Tavistock, but not their father, supported the Canning Ministry. On the Prime Minister's death a few months later Lord Goderich succeeded him for a short period; upon this confused interregnum came the Tory Government of the Duke of Wellington.

In March, 1827, Russell declared in the House

¹ Here he wrote "a very smart prologue" to some private theatricals at Lord Normanby's house.

of Commons his intention to repeal the iniquitous Test Act, by which the taking of the Sacrament according to the rite of the Church of England was a necessary qualification for any public office of profit; also the Corporation Act, which similarly excluded persons from corporations. An Act of Indemnity was, however, passed annually for the benefit of persons who had failed to bow to this idol, which freely admitted the most unscrupulous, who were contemptuous both of religion and conscience. This so-called qualification for office he denounced in his motion in 1828 as profaning religion with the vices of political ambition, and making a solemn function hateful to man and offensive to God. He had declared in 1827 that he would, on behalf of himself and his friends, give his support to any question that might come before the House to bring about general religious liberty, without exception or compromise.

Peel argued, in opposition to the motion, that the Dissenters had no real grievance as they were relieved by annual Indemnity Bills. Huskisson obstructed by contending that they should not be favoured while Roman Catholics were left outside. Lord Eldon in the House of Lords described the proposal as shameful and revolutionary. The Dukes of Newcastle and Cumberland also protested against it.

On June 7, 1827, Russell spoke on the question as follows: "Ever since I have been a Member of this House, my votes have been

guided by the principle that the subjects of these kingdoms ought not to suffer civil penalty, hardship, or inconvenience on account of their religious belief. A mock of piety or holiness was made a qualification for ambition." Mr. W. Smith also spoke, saying that a man could not be a magistrate without taking the Sacrament or a member of Oxford University without signing the 39 Articles. No office, civil or military, under the Crown was exempt from tests.

Russell made a long speech in February, 1828, both in introducing and in replying on the Bill. Mr. Acland quoted Blackstone as having called the Acts the two bulwarks of the Established Church. Many Churchmen, however, now perceived that such bulwarks were of an odious character. Russell encountered little opposition.

1828 To his surprise, the motion was carried by a majority of 44. The year 1828 became famous for the passage of the Repeal of the Test Acts.

Marring the grace of the measure and to keep out the Jews, Peel proposed a feeble declaration and the Bishops accepted it, with the words inserted "on the true faith of a Christian." The whole of this mean barrier was swept away in 1868.

1829 In 1829 Russell commended a speech by Dr. Chalmers as containing as excellent wisdom and eloquence as he had ever read. It was in favour of the Catholic claims which Protestant Dissenters were supporting.

He wrote to Moore that, though the labours had been severe and trying, the joy of the event would soon revive him ; the enemy had been forced to give up his first line, and now admitted that Protestants other than Churchmen might be worthy to serve the State, and he trusted that the second line, the bar against Roman Catholics, would also be abandoned. He was always keen for their admission and recognition as equal fellow-citizens.

On May 5, 1829, he gave notice that he would move for representation to be given to Leeds, Manchester, and Birmingham.

About this time Lord Grey, who was not much given to panegyric, considered that he had done more than any man living, but his greatest work was still to be accomplished in the years 1829 to 1866.

Far from flagging, Russell immediately continued his efforts for the prevention of corruption and the enfranchisement of large towns. He had before proposed to disfranchise corrupt boroughs and to give representatives to Manchester. The Bill to bring in Manchester, &c., was carried in the session of 1828, but rejected by the Lords.

Russell, after an election in Clare, which returned O'Connell and rejected the Duke of Wellington's nominee, gave notice of an address to the King for the settlement of the Roman Catholic question on Liberal lines.

Owing, however, to his friends' remonstrances,

he gave way to their opinion without changing his own. He could not blame O'Connell for being a little impatient. Aggressive and intolerant Protestant societies, called Brunswick Clubs, were formed in the country to resist the Roman Catholic claims ; Russell proposed the formation of a great organization for the promotion of religious liberty and the admission of Roman Catholics.

The Tory administration, however, had been alarmed sufficiently to undertake the solution of the matter themselves, and in spite of the angry protests of many of their party, emancipation was carried by the wisdom and patriotism of Wellington and Peel.

Russell was actually asked by one Conservative malcontent to reintroduce the Reform Bill, but he declined "to embarrass the Government of the Duke." I may here observe that he always spoke in a most friendly way of the great Duke, and through all differences felt for him a personal regard. And further, so far as I remember, during all discussions and all references in conversation to Conservative leaders, he never showed bitterness but treated his opponents with uniform respect.

In the autumn he spent some time at Florence and Genoa, and stayed in Geneva with his brother William.

War broke out between Turkey and Greece. The Battle of Navarino, in which the success of the Greeks was described by Ministers as "an

untoward event," he rejoiced in as "a glorious victory."¹ His historical knowledge of the Turks, their cruelties and oppressions, and their recent infraction of treaties, prevented him from supporting them on the ground of "British interests."

On February 16, 1830, he moved "that this ¹⁸³⁰ House hopes for a settlement to secure full powers to Greece and sufficient territory for national defence." On March 10th he moved in very strong language against the recognition of Dom Miguel of Portugal, "a false, perfidious, and cowardly prince." "Where British influence rests, perfidy, treachery, and disloyalty shall not be allowed to prosper."

On February 23rd he spoke on the representation of large towns.

In 1830 Russell's measure to give Members to Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester was resisted for the reason that if it passed the claims of other large towns might have to be allowed. The Bill was lost by 44. The motion "that it is expedient to extend the basis of the representation of the people" was lost by 96 votes.

On May 28, he said in the House that he did not approve entirely of triennial Parliaments, and believed five years would be preferable to the present system. He did not assent to Universal Suffrage and the Ballot. On June 30th, on the Address in answer to the King's message, he protested against the weak, unwise,

¹ Debate on the Address.

and imprudent action of the Government, which was hostile to popular rights. He strongly supported Lord Althorp's amendment.

In this year Lord Althorp agreed to accept the leadership of the Liberal party, which had long been in abeyance owing to divisions among its chiefs.

After the death of George IV. in June, Russell proposed to settle the new Civil List on a fairer basis, but Ministers dissolved Parliament.

The result of the election was rather favourable to the Whigs. Russell was rejected in Bedford by one vote. He immediately went to Paris, where important events were in train, following the Revolution of 1830.

While there he exerted his influence, chiefly through his acquaintance with General Lafayette, to save the life of Prince de Polignac, who was supposed by his friends both in England and abroad to be in danger, from the vengeance of a sanguinary mob. Russell was able to ascertain from his acquaintance of the Court of Louis Philippe that capital punishment was not expected, but he wrote to Lafayette, then in command of the National Guard, asking him for an interview. Lafayette came to see him, and stated that the offence which the Minister had committed was punishable with death, but that he never would promote that punishment. As to violence from the revolutionary mob, he answered with emotion, "No, that must not, that

shall not be." De Polignac was sentenced in December to imprisonment for life. He was released in 1836.

In November the Prime Minister, the Duke of Wellington, speaking during the debate on the Address, said "the country possesses a Legislature which answers all the good purposes of legislation," and "the system of representation possesses the full and entire confidence of the country."

The Duke's Government, during their short term of office, rigorously put down the freedom of the Press.

Before the end of November, Wellington was defeated and Earl Grey succeeded him as Prime Minister.

Brougham became Lord Chancellor, Althorp Chancellor of the Exchequer, Melbourne Home Secretary, Palmerston Foreign Secretary, Lansdowne President of the Council, Durham Privy Seal, Sir James Graham First Lord of the Admiralty, Stanley Chief Secretary for Ireland; Lord Holland also had a place in the Government.

Russell was appointed Paymaster-General. He at once made use of his spare time and the office in giving the old pensioners of Chelsea Hospital a piece of waste ground for gardens, which they much appreciated. Finding plenty of room in his official house, he invited his brother William and his family to occupy three-fourths of it. They were, however, compelled to remain abroad. The

character of William's many letters to him express his hearty friendship and his vigorous Liberal opinions.

On December 13th, in the debate on Supply, Russell declared that the mad resistance of the late Administration to Reform would not if they had continued in office have defeated that measure but would have involved the monarchy and aristocracy in one common ruin.

Lord Durham, by Lord Grey's desire, invited Russell to consult with him on the formation of a Committee to frame a plan of Reform. They asked Sir James Graham and Lord Duncannon to join them, and laid before them the outline of their plan. The whole scheme was finally submitted to Lord Grey.

1831 On March 1st, 1831, Russell, in a speech of more than two hours, brought forward his great Reform Bill. Precautions had been taken to prevent its disclosure. It was so large in scope that it was received with astonishment, cheers from the Ministerial benches, and shouts of derision. This conflict lasted all through the enumeration of the boroughs. When the long list of boroughs was read by him, Baring exclaimed, "They are mad," and all the Opposition looked delighted.

But his words were of the utmost significance for the future government of the British Empire, for they were a declaration of equality. "You must show that you are determined not to be the representatives of a small class or of a par-

ticular interest, but to form a body who, representing the people, springing from the people, and sympathizing with the people, can fairly call on the people to support the future burthens of the country, and to struggle with the future difficulties which it may have to encounter, confident that those who call upon them are ready to join them heart and hand and are only looking, like themselves, to the glory and welfare of England." "It was for the peroration of the speech that he reserved his best powers," wrote Sir Denis Le Marchant in his "Life of Lord Althorp," and "a more noble and convincing plea for Reform had not been heard for many years within the walls of the House. It stamped him as a statesman, an orator, and a patriot, but it fell on ears deafened by the effect of the schedules, and he sat down in a profound silence. The general impression was that Ministers had gone too far." Mr. Hudson Gurney, a very clever and original thinker, said to Sir Denis that the Bill was an honour to the age, but that only an Oliver Cromwell could carry it. After the Debate, the committal of the Bill was moved by its introducer in a very spirited and able speech (see Roebuck's History, vol. ii, p. 87).

The Second Reading was carried on March 21st by one vote, in the largest House which had ever divided. He wrote in later days: "I never saw so much exultation expressed in the House of Commons as upon that occasion." Francis Place, in his Memoirs,

wrote that nothing had ever before produced such general exultation. "Lord John treated his difficult subject in a masterly manner."

In a letter of March 3rd from Mr. Arbuthnot to Sir Robert Peel, the writer reported that Lord Althorp had said to him, since Lord John's speech, that he could now breathe again, that he had had a weight upon his mind, but that he was now relieved. "I could not help telling him," proceeded Arbuthnot, "that the weight had been transferred to my mind, and that . . . the measure seemed to me nothing but wickedness and atrocity." ¹

On April 10th Mr. Croker declared that Reform had no real hold on the public mind and was a bugbear.

On May 24th Sir Robert Peel wrote to the Duke of Wellington: "I am much disinclined to be a party to any distinct proposition of Reform," and on June 5th to Mr. Goulburn that he was "ready to co-operate with persons of any party in resistance to the Bill."

Ministers, in consequence of adverse amendments in committee, gave up the Bill, and the King, after objecting, consented to dissolve Parliament.

The result of the fresh election was that the Reformers came in with a large majority. Russell was elected for Devonshire.

1831 On June 24th he introduced the Reform Bill. After long weeks of debate, the Bill was

¹ "Life of Sir Robert Peel," vol. ii, p. 176.

finally carried on September 21st by a majority of 109. But the Lords, with the emphatic support of the Bishops, threw it out by a majority of 41.

Throughout the heavy and exhausting labours of the session Russell had received in the House the constant help of his excellent friend Lord Althorp.

On December 12th he brought in the third Reform Bill. The Second Reading was carried by 162 majority on Sunday morning, December 18th. The Third Reading was carried on March 19, 1832, by a majority of 116. On April 15th the House of Lords passed the Bill by a majority of 9. But thwarting amendments in that House were considered by Lord Grey to be fatal, and he asked the King to create a sufficient number of Peers to overbear the obstruction. The King refused and Ministers gave in their resignations. 1832

In acknowledging a vote of thanks from 150,000 persons of the Political Union, Russell wrote: "Our prospects are obscured for a moment, but I trust only for a moment. It is impossible that the intrigues of a faction should prevail against the voice of a nation."

The King found fault with this phrase and Russell replied in terms given in the correspondence.

After the Third Reading of the third Reform Bill, on March 22, 1832, the Opposition still deplored with most alarming forebodings the

proposed broadening of the franchise. Mr. Goulburn, who had held high office in the Conservative Government, described it as pregnant with danger to almost every interest in the country. But he trusted to the House of Lords to defeat it.

After the Lords had rejected the Bill by 35 votes, the Cabinet all but unanimously proposed to ask the King to sanction a creation of Peers in sufficient numbers. A period of doubt and a failure to form a proposed alternative Tory Government followed.

1832 The creation of a batch of Peers became unnecessary, for, faced with a nation enthusiastic for Reform, the King persuaded many of the Opposition to stay away; the Bill passed and received the Royal Assent on June 7th.

Thus ended the great and prolonged struggle, the abbreviated record of which occupies ten volumes of Hansard. The work involved in the preparation and debating of the Bill had been heavy. Among the lumber of manuscripts of that time I found many hundreds of pages of foolscap covered with calculations and lists in my father's handwriting, weighing at least 40 lb. The best account of the proceedings in Parliament and the country may be found in Molesworth's History of the Reform Bill.

On June 13th Sir Walter Scott arrived in London from abroad, mortally ill. Russell, always most sympathetic and grateful to men of eminence in letters, sent a delicately worded

letter to the poet's son-in-law, Mr. Lockhart, asking if the Treasury might advance such a sum as would relieve him from financial straits. The offer, however, was declined.

His sympathy with Irish patriots appears in the following verses, written apparently in 1831, which I found recently among his papers:—

ON LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD.

Erect and firm Lord Edward stood,
His glorious aim his country's good,
And tho' the scornful life may style
The cause insane, the comrades vile,
His name shall long endure.

* * * * *

The passion of a heart too warm
Unfit to guide 'mid civil storm,
The error of a noble mind
From very height of soaring blind
Led Edward to his doom.

And yet the hope for which he died
Shall long outlive the empty pride
The nothing of a blazened tomb . . .

(Unfinished.)

It appears that in the midst of his extremely onerous parliamentary work Russell was still occupied with the writing and preparation of a volume for the press.

In fact, his power of work was during these years extraordinary. And it is clear from Moore's Journal and allusions in contemporary letters that he was in excellent health

and spirits, entering much into the literary society in which he delighted.

1832 On April 6th, after a breakfast at his house, at which Lady Hardy and a daughter, William Russell, Sydney Smith, and Luttrell were present, Smith was "highly comical," and told on that occasion of Leslie's complaint to him that Jeffrey had damned the North Pole, and his own consolatory observation. Great was the merriment as the party broke up. On October 6th Moore wrote: "Lord John called and was very agreeable; laughed like a schoolboy half the time . . . delighted both Bessy and my sister."¹

Returning to London from Devonshire, Moore told him freely what he thought of the rashness of giving so much to the people at once by the Reform Bill. He replied that he thought it the most prudent thing they could do; when in power they were right to give the amplest they could with safety. He spoke very feelingly of Lord Althorp and his help through the struggle in the Commons.

On July 13, 1832, he spoke on the Ministerial plan concerning tithes in Ireland, on the 27th on Chancery sinecures, on the 30th on the retirement of the Speaker and on bribery at elections.

In October he was nearly quitting the Ministry on account of his strong opinion that a part of the savings from reform in the Church of Ireland should be spent on Irish education.

¹ See Moore's *Memoirs* and Walpole's *Biography of Lord John Russell*.

He was induced to remain in office by Grey, Althorp, and Holland, who sympathized much with his views. But the Irish Church Act was not, in the final shape, at all as wide or comprehensive as he would have wished it to be.

In 1833 "slavery was abolished, the first effective Factory Act was passed, and the monopoly of the East India Company was terminated." 1833

On February 6th Russell spoke on bribery at elections, and carried a resolution, and on February 18th on coercive laws for Ireland, on March 8th on Irish Church Reform, on April 3rd on the Factories Commission, on May 23rd on the emancipation of the Jews, on July 9th on Poland, and on July 23rd on the duration of Parliaments.

In September, 1833, Russell went to Ireland. He returned convinced against a coercive policy. In October, while at Phoenix Park, he wrote a memorandum on Irish Government, which recommended "the utmost firmness in maintaining the law," the purchase of land by the Crown on a large scale, which would relieve both owners and tenants, and the provision of State payment of the ministers of the Roman Catholic, Established, and Presbyterian Churches. The Cabinet were not of one mind. Melbourne was a strong advocate of the Coercion Act of 1833. Wellesley, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on Brougham's advice, recommended abandoning the clauses for suppression of meetings.

In this year, at Russell's suggestion, Mr.

Littleton was appointed Chief Secretary in the place of Mr. Stanley. But Stanley's presence in the Cabinet stopped the more liberal settlement of the tithe problem which was then agitating Ireland. In 1834 a crisis came. Russell avowed his difference from his colleagues, and his determination "at whatever cost," so far as he was able, to "do justice to Ireland." The speech made a great impression, and Stanley declared that he had "upset the coach." The question producing this "hubbub," as Greville called it, was the appropriation of the surplus revenues of the Irish Church.

At the end of May, Stanley, the Duke of Richmond, Lord Ripon, and Sir James Graham resigned. The King was really alarmed at the proposed inquiry into the Irish Church and incensed at Brougham's letter to the *Times*.

After Russell's declaration, which caused this split, his brother William, who was breakfasting with him, on his saying that his friends were very angry with him, expressed his full approval of the course he had taken. He had more than once offered to resign, but the offer was rejected. At last he said he *must* speak out.¹ The Cabinet seemed to be strengthened; a Government was now, in his own words, "framed on the principle that reform is necessary in the Church of Ireland." He stated, in reply to Sir Robert Peel, that in reforming he "desired and contemplated the future stability of the Church." The

¹ Greville's *Memoirs*, vol. iii, p. 98.

necessity of Coercion Acts was peculiarly abhorrent to Whigs, and Ministers had the special duty of looking deeper into the long-standing evils of the country." "I am not prepared to propose Bills for coercion and the maintenance of a large force of military and police without endeavouring to improve, as far as lies in my power, the condition of the people." . . . "I will not be a Minister to carry on systems which I think founded on bigotry and prejudice. Improvements must be brought about without injuring the ancient and venerable fabrics, rendering them fit and proper mansions for a great, free, and intelligent people."

Unhappily, however, the Cabinet of which he formed a part proposed another Coercion Act. O'Connell denounced the Government, Lord Grey resigned in July, the King did not send for Sir Robert Peel, as Russell, Melbourne, and Althorp had hoped, and Melbourne became Prime Minister.

In a speech at Bridgwater in January, 1883, Sir Henry James alluded to this period as follows: "Just fifty years ago the truest of English statesmen had the same complaint to make of the same state of things. In 1833 agitation had produced a condition of things such as there is now. The agitators were preaching hostility and hostile action towards England. They brought the Irish people into a condition of secret action and open crime, which, as usual, necessitated coercion, and postponed the redress

of grievances, and then Lord John Russell, working out the idea in the shape of a quaint conceit, told in verse how at a certain shrine in the North of Italy there had been a jewel of great price, an emerald, to which many resorted for worship, and proceeded to say:—

“‘But the priest who attended the altar was base,
And the faithful who worshipped besotted and blind,
He put a green glass in that emerald’s place,
And the multitude still in mute worship inclined.

Aye, and Ireland once had a gem of pure water
When Grattan and Charlemont wept with her sorrow,
But a token of glass those new patriots have bought her,
’Tis a jewel to-day, ’twill be shattered to-morrow.’”

1834 On February 25th Russell brought in a Dissenters’ Marriage Bill, to enable Nonconformists to conduct marriages without galling restrictions. But the time was unfortunate, and it was laid aside.

During this year the Poor Law was passed, then considered a great measure of improvement on a miserable condition of chaos and pauperisation, but recently condemned as the evil ground from which many of our present troubles have sprung. Sir John Simon, in his excellent book, “English Sanitary Institutions,” stated: “The Act of 1834 deserves particular mention, because through Mr. Edwin Chadwick being made Secretary to the Poor Law Board, ‘a begin-

¹ For the speech of Sir Henry James see the *Times*, January 11, 1883.

ning of public sanitary inquiry in Great Britain was made.' "

In 1834 one person in every seven had been a pauper. The new law limited relief, instituted tests, confederated parishes into unions, and established large workhouses. In five years the Poor Rate was reduced by five millions. The benefits of this Act for years thereafter were indeed immense.

On April 17th he spoke on admission to the Universities of Nonconformists, on August 7th on bribery at elections' and on capital punishment.

In November Lord Althorp, on the death of his father, succeeded as Earl Spencer to the House of Lords.

Lord Melbourne submitted to the King the arrangements for filling the vacant leadership in the House of Commons. He and all his colleagues were for Russell, but the King would not have it, for Russell, he complained, had pledged himself to certain encroachments upon the Church, which the King had determined to resist. He looked upon him as a "dangerous Radical."¹ The King dismissed the Liberal Ministry and sent for the Duke of Wellington.

November,
1834

This was the occasion of Lord Spencer's letter beginning, "This is the greatest piece of folly," &c.²

Russell wrote: "I suppose everything is for the best in this world; otherwise the only good

¹ Ch. Greville's Journals.

² See "Life of Lord Spencer," p. 525.

I should see in this event would be that it saves me from being sadly pommelled by Peel and Stanley, to say nothing of O'Connell."

There was a short interregnum, during which the Duke of Wellington, unwilling to assume command at a time when the House of Commons was to be the chief scene of action, waited for the return of Sir Robert Peel from Italy. Peel succeeded in forming a Conservative Cabinet, but issued a manifesto in which he advocated Reform in both Church and State.

1835 The General Election, early in 1835, resulted in a gain, though not a majority, to the Conservative party. Russell was returned for Devonshire, and became leader of the Liberal party in opposition. The leadership had been conferred upon him by the general agreement of his colleagues and others most competent to judge; but to himself and his brother it had, in the previous year, appeared too great and exacting a task. The task was now imposed upon him. He said in joke to Abercromby that if he were offered the command of the Channel Fleet and thought it his duty to accept, he should not refuse it. The illustration was apposite; there was a high probability of collisions, squalls, contrary winds, and contrary orders.

Parliament met in February. A long controversy took place on the question of the Speakership. Russell, with the Liberals generally in accord, supported Abercromby. In a vigorous speech he contended that if the

sword of prerogative were drawn, as it had been drawn by the Sovereign in dismissing Ministers, it was time to be prepared with the shield and buckler of popular privileges, and that there was no right more sacred than the right of the House to place its representative in the Chair. Abercromby was elected by a majority of ten.

Russell's speech was received with general praise, and was the beginning of a battle for popular rights in this matter. Lord Spencer and he thought a vote should at once be taken on the question whether the House approved of the dismissal or not; and he wrote a memorandum suggesting a representation to the King "that the expectations of the country will not be satisfied with anything short of men who will fairly and frankly adopt the liberal and comprehensive measures on which the Reform Act was founded, or with anything less than the measures which the House of Commons recently dissolved was prepared to adopt."

The actual amendment agreed upon was of a less precise character, and lamented the arrest of Reform by an unnecessary dissolution.

Russell, on the second day of the debate, made a speech which was admitted to be excellent even by his enemies; he "surpassed all expectations as leader." It may be noted here that Greville, who had thought he could not succeed, recorded in 1837 that he had "proved a very good leader."

The division gave a majority of seven to the amendment, and a bare majority was only obtainable with the help of the extreme Radicals and the Irish, directed by O'Connell.

Discussion between Ministers as to the amount of co-operation between the Whigs and the Irish resulted in more cordial relations, and Russell was entertained at a dinner attended by 260 Members, including O'Connell, who publicly acknowledged the new leader. Mr. Joseph Hume, however, was absent. Hume proposed, with Russell's assent, to move for limiting the supplies. But Grey, Spring Rice, and other Whigs objected, and the plan for retaining "the power of the purse, the citadel of the strength" of the House, by this move, was abandoned. Russell wished, above all, to test the position of the Ministry by "a fair trial"—that is, by a debate and division on a crucial point of Liberal policy. He proposed to submit a motion in favour of the right to apply the surplus revenue of the Irish Church to secular purposes. He had, in 1834, favoured the inquiry by a commission into the facts, especially the number of persons attending Church services. At the end of March he brought forward the resolution for applying the surplus revenues not required for the spiritual care of Churchmen to the education of all classes of Christians without distinction of religious persuasion. It was carried by 262 to 237. A further motion on the subject of tithes was carried by 285 to 258. In the debate on

April 3rd, on the Church revenue appropriation, Stanley made a violent speech against his old colleague, and against the Whigs.

Sir Robert Peel resigned on April 7th.

So ended this great contest of principles and of leaders. Russell, says his biographer, had succeeded in reconciling the differences of a disunited party, and had led from victory to victory. Effective as were the policy and skill of Peel, long regarded as the first man in the House of Commons, Russell's great capacity, hitherto not fully recognised, made the deepest impression. Lord Wellesley spoke of his leadership as admirable, with "all the temper and tact of Lord Althorp and ten thousand times his eloquence and power." Hayward, in his essay on "The British Parliament," wrote in a later time of him as "the most formidable competitor" of Peel, with "high spirit, high training, clearness and depth of view, thought, feeling, knowledge, and accomplishment." Anthony Trollope, writing in 1883, described Lord John as probably a more capable leader than any who had lived during the past half-century, except Lord Palmerston. Determined as he was in opposition to Peel, he always respected and admired his great opponent as a man of honour. Peel and Russell were throughout friendly towards each other, and shook hands in the House.

On April 11th Russell was married to Lady Ribblesdale. Two days later he was called to London by Lord Melbourne, the now Prime

Minister, and accepted the Home Office. He tried, but in vain, to overcome the objections of Melbourne to giving an important office to Brougham. He induced the Prime Minister to allow an offer to be made to O'Connell, but difficulties arose both from O'Connell and from the King. He sent a message to O'Connell to say that he was quite willing to renounce office for himself if he thought his—O'Connell's—exclusion an injustice which he would resent. "O'Connell declined in the handsomest manner to put forward any pretensions on his own part . . ." (memorandum by Lord John Russell).

After all his successes in Parliament Russell failed to secure re-election in Devonshire, and was beaten by 627 votes, a defeat which gave the King particular pleasure. Colonel Fox resigned his seat at Stroud and he was elected for that borough without a contest.

The new Ministry, commanding a coalition of Whigs, Radicals, and Irish, was a popular one, and destined to carry many notable measures of Reform. To the King it was hateful; in fact, Greville records that he declared he would rather see the devil than any one of them in his house, and that Lord Melbourne wrote to Russell of the King's outrageous conduct making such a muddle as was probably never equalled before. The King quarrelled with Russell, if one can make a quarrel, on the behaviour of Lord Mulgrave, and on Russell's memorandum advo-

cating a reduction of militia, which the King *entirely* "disapproved of" as "*highly*" dangerous to the Crown and Empire.

Towards the autumn this aversion relaxed, and before the end of the year the hospitable monarch asked that Ministers would "do him the pleasure of dining with him." The House of Lords was also bitterly hostile to the Liberal Ministry, and not likely to be reconciled to the changes now about to take shape. Liberals included under the banner of Reform: the Removal of Dissenters' Grievances, the Opening of the Universities, the Abolition of Church Rates, the Commutation of Tithes which pressed hardly on agriculture, Reform in Municipalities, and Justice to Ireland.

Russell, as an experienced Parliament man, May 25,
1835 refused to take up "too much at one time," and confined the work of the session chiefly to municipal reform and the regulation of tithes in Ireland. He himself brought in, on June 5th, June 5,
1835 the Corporation Bill, a great measure, proposing to abolish exclusive privileges and local oligarchies and to confer powers on the people. The large towns had been governed by small bodies, generally self-elected, of freemen, who often grossly misapplied property, and obstructed light and progress. The Bill was to bring drastic changes into the control of 183 boroughs, and to abolish facilities for corruption. "Every one to whom I spoke," wrote Lord Broughton, "seemed delighted with the measure; . . . it

is a good measure, simple and sound, bold, judicious, and safe." ¹

He bore the burden of a long debate, carried the Bill of more than 140 clauses through all its stages without damage, and sent it to the Lords with the sanction of large and increased majorities.

The Lords, openly backed by the King, introduced mutilating amendments. But the resentment aroused in the country was such that Lord Grey, the cautious Whig, spoke of the possibility of the Lords being swept away like chaff. Russell assembled the Liberals at the Foreign Office on August 31st, and explained the course he intended to take with regard to the Lords' obstruction, speaking with great firmness and great moderation. Peel and Wellington recommended conciliation, and by mutual concessions a collision was avoided. Thus the Act as made law, though not wholly satisfactory, was one of the most important of the century.

The majority of the Tory Party were highly dissatisfied at their leaders' surrender.

On July 2nd Lord Stanley and Sir James Graham crossed the floor of the House of Commons. Stanley became a Conservative for life, and was later Prime Minister as Earl Derby. Graham was never a definite party man.

On this night Russell, alluding to O'Connell's attack on Stanley, spoke of the great pain which

¹ "Recollections of a Long Life," vol. v, p. 35.

the difference of opinion between himself and his noble friend which occurred last year had caused him, but "no part in politics which his noble friend might take would ever induce him to believe that he acted from any other motive than his own sense of honour." Nothing, indeed, ever interrupted the lifelong friendship of Russell and Derby.

On July 29th Greville noticed in his Journal 1835 the intimate and excellent personal terms of Russell and Peel. In the matter of the Irish Church, Peel proposed an appropriation which Russell approved as better than his own. These agreements more than neutralized the opposition of Peel's party and of the King.

Towards the end of the Session the Irish Municipal Bill was passed by the Commons, without regard to the King's apprehension of "the greatest mischief" from it (the King to Lord John Russell, August 14, 1835). But the Lords threw it out.

The successful Bill, in which Russell took the chief part, was that which commuted tithes in Ireland into a rent-charge on land. "Other measures of which he was the chief author were the civil registration of births, deaths, and marriages, and legalisation of marriages of Dissenters in their chapels."

The heavy exertions of the session had severely tried his strength, and in September, after an interesting journey in Devonshire, where he was enthusiastically received by the people, he found

restoration at his father's delightful place on the Tamar, Endsleigh.

About this time Lord Ebrington wrote to him regarding the exertions of the Session: "You have won golden opinions from all shades of our allies by your conduct."

In October the King was angry with Russell, as Home Secretary, for allowing O'Connell to pass through the country addressing large meetings, advocating the abolition of the House of Lords. The explanatory letter of October 21st defends Lord Mulgrave from the King's rebuke.

Deeply as he felt the harm done by the Lords in opposing every Liberal measure which had been proposed for the last seven years, he declared, in a speech at Plymouth, his faith in constitutional progress: "Fortified by past victories, I earnestly recommend you to look for the triumph of further measures of Reform rather to the effect of public opinion, enlightened and matured by knowledge and discussion, than to organic changes which cannot be proposed without causing division, nor carried without risk of convulsion. . . . To the Constitution of this country in all its branches I stand pledged by feeling, by opinion, and by duty."

At a great dinner at Bristol he again used most moderate language, and received the approval of his father, of Lord Grey, and even of the King.

November,
1835

Returning from Bowood to London, he found himself involved in the unusual difficulties which

beset the Ministry with regard to the highest legal offices. Lord Melbourne, objecting to Brougham, had placed the Great Seal in Commission. Russell proposed the appointment of a paramount judge in equity. He and Lord Melbourne, who were in continual correspondence, had the intention of conferring the Chancellorship with a Peerage on the Master of the Rolls, Sir C. Pepys. The question then arising would be whether Brougham or Bickersteth or Campbell should be given the Mastership. The King had the greatest dislike of Brougham, but Russell wrote to Melbourne that if he were in Melbourne's place he would recommend him; indeed, he always regretted that Brougham was not appointed.

At the end of 1835 the Cabinet appointed committees to consider, one, the whole case of the Dissenters, the other the English tithe system. Russell took a chief part on both. He had in a previous year spoken of tithes as the institution of a barbarous age. In his speech introducing the Bill in 1836 he described them as deeply injurious to the interests both of the Church and of agriculture.

The Bill was carried and settled the question which had long been a cause of distress and trouble. 1836

Another Bill of great importance, first to this country and later to the world, he carried successfully through Parliament. Up to 1836 the ceremony of marriage could only be legally per-

formed by a Church of England clergyman. He now proposed that Dissenters might be married in their own chapels in the presence of a Registrar. But he had long foreseen that what was most required was a National Registry, not only of marriages, but also of births and of deaths. In March, 1834, and in 1835, he had declared that there was no sacrifice which the country ought not to make to get rid of the old system, and that no solution could be found until a General Civil Registration took the place of the ecclesiastical registers which had alone
 1837 existed till then. In 1837 the Registration Bill became an Act, and the Registration of Births, Marriages, and Deaths began from that time.

1834 I have found among his papers a Draft, in his handwriting, entitled: " Heads of a Bill for the Registration of Births, Deaths, and Marriages. 1. A Registrar to be appointed in each parish to hold office during good behaviour. 2. The Registrar to be chosen in open vestry between the 10th and the 25th of November, 1834, or at the time of chusing parish officers. . . . 4. After the first of January, 1835, the birth of every child to be notified within three days after its birth, by some person attending the birth. . . . 8. Death of every person to be notified within twenty-four hours to the Registrar. . . . 10. Marriage to be notified to the Registrar. . . . 22. The Registrar to be evidence in a Court of Law of birth, death, or

marriage," &c. These are the chief provisions which he had in mind early in 1834.

In 1835 a stir among country labourers, who 1835 rightly felt the necessity of moving to ameliorate their abject condition of serfdom, misery, and semi-starvation, led to a prosecution and condemnation of certain countrymen in Dorsetshire, which became famous as the case of the Tolpuddle martyrs. It appeared that these labourers had joined a union or society formed with the object of improving the lot of workers on the land. They had received notice that their wages were to be reduced from seven to six shillings. They heard from London of unions for protection being openly formed and processions allowed. "We recommend you," wrote the Londoners, "to do the same." They did not know that for country people, though not, so far as they could see, for townsmen in certain trades, this act of combination was illegal. The National Union had, however, been pronounced illegal in 1830. The Union had administered illegal oaths. The law treated them with great severity.

Six men were convicted and sentenced to transportation to Australia for seven years. Lord Melbourne was apparently not inclined to interfere. He refused to receive a deputation. Mr. Wakley made a fine, sturdy speech protesting against their condemnation. Russell, who was Home Secretary, felt acutely the injustice of the punishment, and tried to modify it by reducing the length of the term to three years and by

offering a passage to the men's wives. After very careful attention to the case, he announced in the House on June 25th that a pardon would be given to all the men if they remained in the Colonies. As to four of them, after two years they would be allowed to return. The two Lovelesses were not to return.

Expressions in his letter on this matter show that he thought the landlords and inciters to violence, the Duke of Cumberland and the Duke of Gordon, were more deserving of severe penalties than these labourers who unwittingly broke an unjust law.

1835 On June 25, 1835, he spoke in the House of Commons on the case.

Yet more remained to accomplish in this year of rich fruitage. He wished to pass an Act to allow the admission of Dissenters to the Universities. Lord Melbourne wrote to him on December 15, 1836, against the project as unnecessary and imprudent, and he was unable to proceed; but the new University of London had been established, and was competent to grant degrees to all, whether Churchmen or Free.

1836 Further, in 1836 he passed, to satisfy the claims of the Church, a Bill equalizing the Bishops' incomes, combining some old sees and constituting new ones. Bills were also introduced, which were carried in 1838 and 1839, for the rearrangement of surplus incomes to the general purposes of the Church, and to discourage pluralities, then a flagrant abuse. His

biographer held that these measures did more for Dissent and for the Church than anything since the days of Nottingham and Godolphin. Lord Western wrote to him that he had had more difficult cards to play than ever fell into the hands of a leader of the House, and that he had done himself immortal honour.

One of the deepest and most constant interests of his life was justice to Ireland. But the less forward views of his colleagues thwarted his action here as in other directions. Lord Mulgrave,¹ who was appointed Viceroy, inaugurated a more liberal policy, discouraged the most offensive demonstrations of Orange intolerance, and, best of all, appointed the generous-minded Thomas Drummond to the important office of secretary. A saying of Drummond's, "Property has its duties as well as its rights," became famous.

The correspondence of Russell and Mulgrave was continual and copious for many months.

In 1835 Russell agreed with the Irish law ¹⁸³⁵ officers that soldiers and police should not be used for the collection of tithes except in emergency. He mentioned that in England he warned the Lords Lieutenant and the Commander-in-Chief not to allow troops to be brought within sight of the people unless actual rioting took place. This was always a valued principle with him, and I have heard him tell how in the Chartist movement of 1848, even at the most

¹ Afterwards known as the Earl of Normanby.

threatening moments, he, in concert with the Duke of Wellington, arranged that the troops should be kept out of sight.

He took steps with Lord Mulgrave to allow Roman Catholics to be included in the lists from which Sheriffs were chosen, to let a proportion of Roman Catholic solicitors be chosen in local prosecutions, and to remove violent Orangemen from the constabulary. Orange lodges had been formed in the army under warrants signed by the Duke of Cumberland. The Orange societies, narrow, aggressive, and violent, were a menace to the peace of the kingdom. Orders were issued to try by court-martial any soldier who belonged to an Orange lodge. Towards the end of February, on a motion of Mr. Joseph Hume on February 23rd for the dissolution of Orange clubs and the removal of Orange functionaries, Russell moved an amendment praying the King to take such measures as he might deem advisable for the effectual discouragement of Orange and other political societies. These societies were exclusive, secret, and acted through associated branches. Large bands were armed and committed outrages. As Mr. Hume insisted, they had become intolerable. "Lord John immortalised himself on Tuesday night," wrote Greville. "Perhaps no speech in the House of Commons before or since has ever produced a more remarkable effect."¹

Greville records that his speech, "far surpass-

¹ Walpole, vol. i, p. 265.

ing its usual form, dignified, temperate, and judicious . . . drew tears from the Orangemen, enthusiastic approbation from Stanley, a colder approval from Peel, and the universal assent of the House. His speech is worth a thousand flowery harangues. . . . He has probably conferred a great and permanent benefit upon the country." The King highly approved of the very judicious course adopted by him. It was a happy advance towards the reconciliation of Ireland.

But the Conservative party in the Lords, by cutting out 106 out of 140 clauses of the Irish Municipal Bill, and altogether spoiling its intention, rekindled distrust and dissension.

On March 8th Russell spoke on Irish Municipal Reform. The Conservatives, he said, wanted to abandon the Corporations the Government wished to preserve, while submitting them to popular control. Much that was uttered by the Member for Dublin (O'Connell) was perfectly true. "I would conjure you," he proceeded, "to trust to the principles of liberality in your dealings with your Catholic fellow-subjects. . . . If you neglect his counsels, and seek to perpetuate an ungenerous mastery by force and violence, I warn you that you will only arrive through a long and painful course of enmity and strife at a separation—a national calamity of the greatest magnitude for both countries, which, by the adoption of a wise and generous policy in the present seasonable opportunity, you may for ever avert."

1838

On April 15th, on the Registration of Births, &c., Second Reading, he said: "The Bill will in the first place establish a national registry, and, secondly, will enable Dissenters to have a registry without resorting to means to which they conscientiously object."

1836 On June 5th Russell wrote the remarkable Memorandum which will be found on p. 185, Vol. II., addressed to Lord Melbourne, on the construction of the House of Lords, and the need for a creation of 8, 10, or 12 Peers, and a similar addition "whenever it is provoked."

If this counsel had been taken by Lord Melbourne, the course of legislation and of British history would have been greatly changed, and evils which have beset the path of progress and calamitously delayed beneficent work would have lost their powers of destruction.

His relations with the great Churchmen were not unfriendly. In the course of the discussion on the Ecclesiastical Commission, Russell wrote on a slip of paper which he threw across the table to the Archbishop of York: "I don't object to your robbing one another, but I can't let you rob the Crown!" The Archbishop wrote back: "That is just what I expected from you."

1837 On January 2, 1837, the King wrote to Russell rather discouragingly against the renewal of the Tithes and Municipal Bills for Ireland "after the experience of the last two years."

But the King's speech at the opening of Parliament by proxy recommended the early considera-

tion, not only of these but of the Irish Poor Law.

A week after the meeting of Parliament, Russell, asking leave to introduce the Municipal Bill, made a great speech on Irish policy. A meeting of Protestants at Dublin had just denounced Lord Mulgrave. Lord Plunket had spoken of the Catholic Association as "the spawn of your own wrong." Russell defended Mulgrave and showed that he was acting on the principle of Fox, that the more Ireland was under Irish government and Irish ideas, the more she would be bound to the British people and to the interests of this country.

"Can we wonder at such things? . . . Your oppression taught them to hate, your concessions to brave you; you exhibited to them how scanty was the stream of your bounty, and how full the tribute of your fear."

Lord Mulgrave was delighted with his "bold and brilliant speech." Lord Melbourne, who had suspected that he might say something "damned foolish," was satisfied that his "imprudence" had not come to utterance.

Concerning the Irish Church, the Bill upon which it had seemed expedient to postpone, at the end of the debate Russell said that no personal feeling or false pride of his should stand in the way of the settlement of that great question. And Lord Melbourne and he decided to press on the Irish Bills for poor relief and municipal reform.

1837 On the 13th of February he brought in the Irish Poor Law Bill, and in his speech went out of his way to defend the unpopular English Act of 1834.

The Municipal Bill was read a second time on February 17th. This victory induced the Ministry to reintroduce the Church Rate Bill, but it met with little support and was withdrawn, Russell previously avowing his desire to maintain the Church and that all classes should contribute to its support.

On the Third Reading of the Municipal Bill, Russell declared the question to be vital to the Administration. Advised to withdraw the Tithes Bill owing to rising Conservative hostility, he declined, and in a speech early in May expressed his intention of proceeding with the other measures and to "wait and see" whether the Government had mistaken the intention of the Opposition.

On April 24th Russell moved the Second Reading of the Forgery Bill, and the following Bills piloted by him were read a second time: abolition of the punishment of death for stealing, burning houses or ships, &c.; abolition of transportation for life; abolition of the pillory. On May 19th he proposed to make 21 out of 37 offences no longer punishable by death. In the 16 other cases the capital punishment would be much restricted. The Bill was carried by a majority of one vote. On May 22nd he said it would be desirable to wait and see what improve-

ments in prison discipline would follow the new recommendations.

On May 23rd the Government obtained only the narrow majority of five in a division on Church rates.

The illness of the King, which had been serious since the middle of May, resulted in his death on June 20th. On June 22nd Russell appeared at the Bar of the House with the Queen's message. On June 27th he read the address of condolence and congratulation at Kensington Palace and put it in the Queen's hand.

June, 1837

The General Election which became necessary gave a poor majority to Ministers, 340 against 313.

Russell was re-elected for Stroud.

At a banquet at Stroud in July he made one of the finest of all his speeches containing a declaration of Liberal principles, a eulogy of Reformers, a condemnation of Conservatism throughout history and science, a free and frank avowal that he would not support ballot, triennial Parliaments, household suffrage, an elected House of Lords, and would maintain as he had heretofore the ancient Constitution of Crown, Lords, and Commons, as capable of upholding the prosperity and liberty of this great Empire. In a "prophetic passage" he spoke of the coming reign of a Queen: "So strengthened, I trust that we may succeed in making the reign of Victoria celebrated among the nations of the earth, and to all posterity, and that 'England may not forget

1837

her precedence of teaching the nations how to live.' ” This last sentence has been supposed to come from Milton, but I cannot find it in his chief works.

On September 9th he wrote a letter to Lord Melbourne on the difficult situation of the Government, and on September 13th asked him to approve a policy uniting the Radicals with the Whigs by letting the Ballot be an open question, now that it was no longer made a threat, and by removing the Tories from the political command of the Army. Lord Melbourne's conservative attitude, however, caused the Ballot to be deferred till a much later period.

In October Russell stayed at Bowood, Lord Lansdowne's country house, where he met Melbourne, Glenelg, Sydney Smith, Rogers, Moore, and others.

Sydney Smith was at that time angry with the Whigs for their Liberal measures towards the Church, the transfer of patronage from Chapter to Bishops, and the approach to more equal emoluments. His Singleton Letters, and a pamphlet against the Ministry, to confound them, were a fine mixture of bitterness and wit.

From Bowood Russell and his wife went to Brighton, where they dined twice with Queen Victoria.

One of the first administrative acts of the new reign was a letter publicly addressed by the Home Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, expressing the Queen's desire for the

full enjoyment of civil and political equality to which the Irish people were entitled.

In the debate on the Address he made a speech in which he maintained that Grey, Althorp, and he had concurred in making the Reform Act extensive in the hope that it might be final, and that it was impossible for him to take any part in large measures of reconstruction without being guilty of breach of faith; the entering into this question of the construction of the representation so soon again would destroy the stability of our institutions, but "if the people of England are not of that mind, they can prevent me from taking part in the Legislature or in the Councils of the Sovereign," "they can place others there who may have wider, more extended, and more enlightened views." Ministers, he said, "do not intend that the reform shall remain a barren Act upon the Statute Book, but that it shall be followed up in such a manner as will ennoble, invigorate, and enlarge the institutions of the country."

On the following night he made what was "by the agreement of all parties, an incomparable speech, vindicating his consistency, explaining his motives, and repelling with great dignity the charges with which he was assailed."¹

Upon this he received strongly approving letters from Lord Spencer, Lord Brougham, his brother Tavistock, and others, but a shower of obloquy from Radicals, who nicknamed him "Finality Jack."

¹ Greville's Memoirs.

But he really kept the ground, as he thought he was honestly bound to do, on which he stood in 1832 and 1834. In a speech in 1834 he said that he was not prepared for a measure which would carry reform farther, for he had given a kind of pledge in 1832 that the extent of the change would be more likely to make it permanent than a lesser reform. I have a large batch of papers which make his position quite clear. He did not, of course, mean to bind himself or his successors for a long series of years.

1837 In November he circulated a Memorandum in the Cabinet with the object of having election petitions tried by a court of five men chosen by the Speaker from lists provided by the heads of the Chancery and Common Law Courts. This was intended to counteract the bribery and corruption against which he had always fought strenuously. But thirty years were to pass before election petitions were referred to an outside tribunal.

1837 Business in Parliament was interrupted by the troubles which had for some years been growing and now burst forth in a serious rising in Canada. On March 6th Russell proposed in a long speech a series of resolutions giving powers to Lord Gosford, but the Governor's authority was resisted by the Assembly. In December the news of riot and insurrection reached England, and Russell in the debate on December 22nd made a speech which was praised by Greville and others as manly, temperate, and constitutional. "He

invariably speaks well when a good speech is required from him, and this is upon every important occasion, for he gets no assistance from any of his colleagues, except now and then from Howick."

The Government were divided in opinion on the policy to be adopted.

On January 16th he informed the House that the Government had decided to suspend the Canadian Constitution for four years and to send Lord Durham to the colony with power, in concert with five members of the Council, to frame laws. His speech on the affairs of Canada occupied two and a half hours. 1838

In February the Ballot, proposed by Mr. Grote, was rejected by 315 to 198, but the majority was largely composed of Opposition Members. This blow to the Ministry was the result of the Prime Minister's refusal to make the Ballot an open question. It was a low game which disgusted men like Lord Spencer. 1838

In March an official amendment of the Opposition censuring the Government, but condemning the treasonable designs of the insurgents in Canada, was defeated by 316 to 287.

On March 3rd Russell, as Broughton relates, introduced an admirable Bill for the administration of justice in the City Courts, "thus adding to his, and I may say our, claims to the gratitude of the country." On March 7th he spoke on Colonial Administration.

In May, 1838, the Opposition again attacked 1838

the Ministry on their Irish Tithe Bill, but, after a strong speech from Russell, were defeated by 317 to 298.

Though the Tithe Bill was passed in a mutilated form, having lost the Appropriation Clause on which his mind had been set, it tended very greatly to the peaceful progress of Ireland, as he wrote many years after. And in course of time, Appropriation, long delayed, took its place among Liberal conquests. He diminished the number of capital offences, and introduced a Bill for the Reform of the Poor Law and an Irish Municipal Bill. The death of the King arrested their progress. He tried to get more advanced Liberals into the Cabinet, but Melbourne refused. In this year he succeeded in establishing reformatories for young offenders, a necessary and permanent improvement.

The Ministry of 1837-9 was not considered a strong one by contemporaries; both in Lords and Commons the Conservatives had an advantage in their foremost men. Sydney Smith wrote that Russell was beyond comparison the ablest man in the Administration—"the Government could not exist a moment without him."

At this time there was complaint of his coldness to Members of the party, a fault of manner which gradually wore off in later years, but he was always cordial towards his intimate friends, among whom were Playfair, Holland, Sydney

Smith, Rogers, Moore, Althorp, Lansdowne, Stanley, Melbourne, Grey, Acland, and Fortescue.

In the brilliant gatherings at Grillion's Club he was always welcome, and nobody could be more genial in company. There was, in fact, the quality of reserve in large measure which is ascribed to Englishmen generally and to Yorkshiremen particularly. As the *Times* in its obituary notice most truly observed, there was no example of a more thoroughly English career, and, it may be added, character.

Events in Canada during 1838 gave rise to a serious crisis. Lord Durham, by dismissing the Council, transporting some of the leading rebels, and the concession of a general amnesty caused such denunciation of his conduct as illegal that Lord Melbourne wrote to Russell, "This mission is the greatest blunder we have committed." Brougham, however, brought forward a Bill of Indemnity, which Russell accepted. "Looking at his conduct as a whole," he declared in the House, "I shall be ready to take part with him. I shall be ready to bear my share of any responsibility which is to be incurred in these difficult circumstances."¹ Durham was not supported by the Prime Minister and Colonial Secretary. He resolved to return from Canada. In October he wrote: "From you alone of them all have I received any cordial support personally." Russell answered that if

¹ Abbreviated. See Hansard, xliv, 1226.

he had been in the Lords he would have done no better than they. On October 18th and 22nd he wrote important letters to Melbourne, and on October 25th told him that he could hardly remain in the Cabinet unless the Memorandum he had written would be sent in a separate dispatch or Parliament be assembled. He carried a Bill of Indemnity to cover Lord Durham's acts of autocracy.

"Lord Durham's Report, written by Charles Buller, partly under the inspiration of Wakefield, began a new era." As Mr. Mill said, it laid the foundation of the political success and social prosperity, not only of Canada but of all the other important colonies.

1838 A blow which laid him prostrate interrupted his public work. Lady John Russell died on November 1st. He retired to Cassiobury, which Lord Essex lent him, and remained there till the middle of January, 1839.

At the Cabinet on November 26th, Broughton mentions in his Recollections, they discussed Russell's Education scheme. Lord Melbourne confessed that he was against the thing altogether; on which Howick said: "Thank God, there are some things which even you cannot stop, and that is one of them!"

In the very large correspondence of Russell and Melbourne which has hitherto been unpublished, I find a surprising slowness in the Prime Minister to admit the need of changes which his energetic colleague unremittingly urged, but

also a constant kindness and a frequent rather grumbling acquiescence.

The administration of Glenelg at the Colonial Office, to which Russell attributed much of the trouble, continued a little longer. Jamaica threatened unrest similar to that in Canada. Lord Howick objected even more than Russell to Glenelg's conduct of affairs, and proposed to resign, but Russell, in correspondence with him, induced him to remain, seeing the prospect of a change, and wrote in strong terms to the Prime Minister. Apparently Melbourne took a different view, and on February 2, 1839, Russell wrote: 1839
"Be it as you please, I shall give in my resignation next week, and state that I thought the destinies of our Colonial Empire could no longer be continued in their present hands without imminent peril; that nothing but the utmost energy and activity are equal to the present emergency. . . ."

Lord Melbourne gave way, and appointed Mulgrave, now Marquis of Normanby, to the Colonial Office in place of Glenelg. Sir George Grey became Judge Advocate, Mr. Labouchere Under-Secretary for the Colonies, Lord Ebrington Viceroy of Ireland, and Lord Morpeth a Cabinet Minister.

On February 5th Russell made a great speech, dealing with the principles of Reform. On February 12th he developed his plan for National Education.

A murder in Ireland was the occasion for an

attack on the Government in the House of Lords. Lord Roden moved for a Committee to inquire into the state of Ireland since 1835. Lord Melbourne declared that the appointment of a Committee would be regarded as a Vote of Censure. The inquiry was granted. Ministers appealed to the Commons. Russell stated the case for the Ministry in the House, and made it clear that they would resign if the principles on which they governed Ireland were rejected. He was known to have no wish to remain in office. His health was failing. But his speech, according to Greville, was admirable and so skilful that it satisfied his friends, his foes, and did not dissatisfy the Radicals. On a division the Government majority was 22.

About this time his popularity, much affected by his misunderstood "finality" declarations of recent years, declined to such a degree that both he and some of his friends took a desponding view, and doubted whether he could ever again be a leader of the party.

At this hour of depression he published a letter, on May 3rd, to his constituents explaining his position and his opinions. Though its circulation was enormous, and it was hailed, as Greville wrote, with exceeding satisfaction by moderate men, it could not reconcile the Radicals.

On the same day, on the measure to suspend the Government of Jamaica, the Government majority fell to 5. Russell wrote to the Queen

to announce the decision of the Cabinet to resign office.

The Queen wrote that she was exceedingly pained, and expressed her great satisfaction with his Administration, which had "greatly tended to the welfare and prosperity of the country." She was much attached to Lord Melbourne, but there was no choice to her but to invite Peel, the Conservative leader, to form a Government.

Peel had to give up the attempt, owing to the Queen's insistence on the retention of the Ladies of her Household.

This strange affair, through which the Whigs came to return to office, was due not only to the dependence of the young Queen on her trusted advisers, but to the nearly equal balance of parties, with a slight working majority for the Liberals. There was a conflict of wise judgment and loyal affection for the distressed Sovereign. The hard choice of insistence on dismissal of the Queen's ladies at Peel's behest would have seemed like desertion. So Ministers felt. And Lord Spencer wrote that they could not do otherwise "as gentlemen." On April 27th and on May 13th Russell spoke most strongly for the Queen. On May 11th the Government returned to their position, but not to power. The Radicals, who had long been hostile, were ready to revolt on slight occasion, and attacked Russell with little intermission. O'Connell, on the other hand, gave him, as he acknowledged on May 9th

in a letter which has point in our own time, a constant and disinterested support.

On June 13th Russell spoke on the government of Canada. On June 24th he made a speech recommending a vote of £30,000 a year for national education.

A difficulty arose concerning the Speakership when, after Abercromby's resignation, Mr. Spring Rice's claims were hotly contested by the Radicals. Russell wrote to Melbourne that he was disposed to stand by Rice and suffer a defeat. Eventually Mr. Lefevre was made Speaker, and Macaulay was elected for Edinburgh in place of Abercromby. Mr. Charles Gore, Russell's private secretary, was made Commissioner of Woods and Forests.

A long controversy on the Ballot resulting in a division on Mr. Grote's motion, in which Ministers and officials voted, some for, some against, with nearly equal figures on each side, reduced the efficiency of the Government for Liberal legislation still further.

1839 For the fifth time the Irish Municipal Bill failed to become law. The Lords' amendments were intolerable to the representatives of the people; one was held by the Speaker to constitute a breach of privilege. Russell wrote the Memorandum of August 9th suggesting the introduction of "a new Bill, exactly similar to the Bill of the Lords." A majority of the Cabinet signified their objection to this way out, though the Prime Minister assented.

In August Mr. Spring Rice, as Lord Mont-eagle, became Controller of the Exchequer, Mr. Poulett Thomson Governor of Canada, and Mr. Francis Baring and Mr. Labouchere entered the Cabinet.

In July Russell had suggested the appointment of Lord Normanby to the Home Office, and his own occupation of the Colonial Department, in which he was keenly interested.

Lord Howick, objecting to these changes and 1839
objecting also to some of the more moderate views of his colleagues, resigned, much to Russell's regret. Macaulay was given the office of Secretary at War; Lord Clarendon entered the Cabinet as Lord Privy Seal. When Russell established himself at the Colonial Office Sir James Stephen was Under-Secretary, and another remarkable man, Sir Henry Taylor the poet, who became an honoured friend of the Russell family, was in the same Department. Both rejoiced in their new chief's "way of doing business, very different from anything before him." Lady Holland wrote of his winning courtesy and frankness in official interviews with political opponents: "You judged well in your choice of an office, unless it half kills you from fatigue." "His reputation in his office," wrote Mr. Greville, "is immense." Mr. Ellice, a Whig, wrote of the period of his management as a lucid interval, and Mr. Colquhoun, a Conservative, gave in the House most emphatic testimony to the "vigour, high administrative wisdom, and justice" of his

conduct of affairs. "What he does, he does unchecked by public opinion . . . and if we are to have a despotism, I am not sure that we can find one better fitted for such power than the noble lord opposite. . . . He possesses great talents ; a judgment clear, prompt, and undisturbed by passion ; a will which is inflexible ; an eye quick to discern the evil ; a genius ready to apply the remedy."

1839 It was in August of this year that the Duke of Wellington, on Rogers saying to him, "What an array there is in the House of Commons against Lord John Russell—Peel, Stanley, Graham, &c.," replied, "Lord John is a host in himself." ¹

New Zealand dated its origin as a colony from this time ; the colonists were assured of the protection of the Crown. Still stronger assurances he gave to the British provinces of North America (Canada), pledging to them the word of the Queen that, so long as they desired to remain her subjects, they should receive the support of the Crown and be defended as a part of the British Dominions. "For antagonism," wrote Mr. Gladstone, "he substituted harmony, and saved the Empire possibly from disruption."

He described his Bill as intended to lay the foundation of a permanent settlement of the affairs of Canada. Lord Durham's successor, Poulett Thomson, Lord Sydenham, received from

¹ See Broughton, "Recollections," and Rogers, "Table Talk." The same story is told by each.

him cordial co-operation in his Liberal policy. In the same year, 1839, he introduced and carried the Jamaica Bill.

He wished so to act that the colonies might desire to continue in close connection but be rendered capable of self-government if in course of time they chose to be independent. In a speech in 1850 on colonial policy he spoke as follows: "Let us make them, as far as possible, fit to govern themselves; let us give them, as far as we can, the capacity of ruling their own affairs; let them increase in wealth and population; and, whatever may happen, we of this great Empire shall have the consolation of saying that we have contributed to the happiness of the world."

While at Buckhurst, near Windsor Forest, with 1839 his children after the close of the session, he heard of his father's death in Scotland. In November he took his children to Bourne, on the sea, and returned to London; in December he was persuaded by Lord Lansdowne to stay at Bowood with two of his children. He took them over to see Moore at Sloperton, who wrote: "Nothing can be more touching than to see him with these children, and he has them always with him." At the end of December he returned to Buckhurst.

The year 1839 must remain distinguished for two great progressive movements—the Penny Post and the founding of national State Education.

In 1833 Lord Brougham, always caring for

and advocating education as a duty of the State, carried a motion to grant £10,000 a year each to the "National" and the "British and Foreign" School Societies. Members of the Government, including Russell, were not willing to take the subject out of Brougham's hands, but in 1838 it became clear that the question of State-aid must be moved by the Government. Russell, like his father, had always been deeply interested in the promotion of education. He was a Vice-President of the British and Foreign School Society from 1824 to 1861, when he became President on the death of his brother. He occupied the chair on thirty-one anniversaries. He was a cordial believer in its principles. On October 2, 1828, he laid the foundation of the Eastern Road Schools at Brighton, which were re-opened as the Russell Institute in the year of his death, 1878.

In November, 1838, "during the week in which he was watching by the bedside of his dying wife, he made up his mind to deal with National Education." He drew up a scheme embodied in a letter to Lord Lansdowne as President of the Council. At the beginning of the session he explained his plan: a grant of £30,000; a Committee of Privy Council to superintend its administration; a normal school for the joint education of the young of the Established Church and of the various sects, and inspection of the schools by competent persons. Infant schools, practically unsectarian, were to

be started. Undenominational schools were to be established in poor and crowded places, and help was to be given even where the Roman Catholic version of the Bible was used. The Archbishop of Canterbury, with a large majority of the Lords, addressed the Queen, praying her to revoke the order. But the Queen, on Russell's advice, in approving of the scheme, expressed her wish that *the youth of the kingdom should be religiously brought up, and that the rights of conscience should be respected.*

The scheme was received with abuse. Lord Melbourne threw cold water on it. Violence and bigotry fell upon it. Stanley, in a long speech, tried to overthrow the whole plan, relying upon the Church as the only teacher of knowledge, religious and secular. The normal school, "the child thrown out to the wolf," in Russell's words of after-years, "did little to appease his fury." The grant was carried by a majority of only 2. The Archbishop of Canterbury in the House of Lords succeeded in condemning the whole scheme by a majority of 111. The Bishop of London suggested compromise. Russell agreed to meet, with Lansdowne, the Archbishop and two Bishops, and from this conference came "a treaty" by which, under a Committee of Privy Council, co-operation was secured.

It is recorded that "Lord John Russell, in 1839, tried to establish a training college for teachers in which there should be an Anglican chaplain. The Bishop of London attacked the proposal

in a vigorous speech, in which he said that the Church of England might abdicate its functions if every sect was to have the same privileges."

Russell wrote long afterwards (1874) in his "Recollections": "The Bishop of London, Dr. Blomfield, who was sincerely friendly to education, suggested to me that if the State and the Church went on fighting we should only injure one another without promoting the great objective both had in view. Seeing the justice of this remark, I agreed to a meeting at Lansdowne House, where the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London and Salisbury met Lord Lansdowne and me. After a conference we agreed to a treaty . . . and that we should co-operate on the most friendly terms in the great work of education."

In these calm words the proposer of his buffeted and ill-used plan made mention, thirty-three years later, of the storm through which his moderated attempt to lay the foundations had to pass. The foundations were indeed laid; what was defective in them was inserted in deference to doctrinal claims and through the mutilation undergone in the House of Lords. The plan was intended as the beginning of a general, equal, liberal, and religious training, under the direction of the State, for all the children of the nation. It initiated State supervision and aid. From it sprang the general and compulsory system of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, good, but still waiting for

something more free, more fair, and more religious.

During Russell's tenure of the Home Office he wrought other work of no little benefit by the formation of the rural police, the improvement of prisons, the better treatment of young offenders, and the gradual abolition of transportation.

In his first year at the Home Office, 1835, he passed a measure for the better regulation of prisons and for the appointment of inspectors.

In 1836 he directed that the state of Newgate should be improved, that various ameliorations should be made in the location and treatment of prisoners, and that prisoners condemned to death should be isolated; in 1837 he continued the reduction of capital offences; in 1838 he brought in the first measure of its kind for establishing a reformatory, and instituted inquiries into the best situations, &c., for penitentiaries; he promoted the better designing of prisons; in 1837-9 he presided over a committee for inquiring into the whole question of transportation. His policy in the treatment of disorder and riots led to considerable improvements, and he brought in a Bill, which was carried, for the formation of constabulary forces in Manchester and Birmingham, and for the establishment of local police. Peel had in 1829 laid the foundation of a London police force. In 1839 Russell greatly improved the conditions of the Metropolitan Police, extended their area,

and passed the Police Courts Act. He relied much on the newly formed municipal police. On July 16, 1839, he gave "a temperate rebuke to the Duke of Wellington's exaggerations of the riots in Birmingham." He always treated disturbances of this kind with equanimity.

On May 14, 1838, the Poor Law Commissioners presented to him three Reports, including one on certain causes of fever in the metropolis. In August, 1839, he advised the Commissioners that inquiry should be made as to the extent to which the causes of disease stated in the Reports to prevail in London were prevailing also in other parts of England and Wales.

The net result of the ensuing Report was that a large proportion of the total deaths was found to be due to preventable causes, chiefly insanitary conditions of houses and workplaces and neglect of cleanliness. The prevailing conditions were indeed horribly bad. The theory of *laissez-faire* was shown to arise from a huge and appalling miscalculation.

In the years following 1840 a great inquiry into the health of towns led to legislation, which gradually transformed the condition of the cities of Great Britain, and thereafter of the cities of the world.

The Official Mortality Statistics of the United States Census Department for 1908 contain the following observation: "Public Health, as a function of Government, is itself only a crea-

tion of the middle part of last century, dating from the utilization of the knowledge available as the result of the English laws for the Registration of Vital Statistics." Southwood Smith, Edwin Chadwick, Edmund Parkes, John Simon, Michael Sadler, Shaftesbury, and other leaders in the path of reform, with Russell and his successors acting upon their counsel, placed Great Britain at the head of life-saving nations.

Russell was, according to Chadwick, the most anxious among the Ministers for Health Reform, and there was no one, said the Home Secretary, to whose zeal and assiduity the country was more indebted than to Mr. Chadwick. In 1837, when the Board, which was slow and somewhat obstructive, objected to some proposals of their Secretary, Mr. Chadwick, Russell intervened and sustained his plan.

In 1837, wrote Sir John Simon, "the Act for registering births, deaths, and marriages became law, under which it first became possible to construct statistics of life and death in this country, and under which the vast instructiveness of such statistics began to be illustrated."

In the spring of 1838 the Poor Law Commissioners wrote a letter to Lord John Russell on matters of Public Health, in which he took a keen interest. The publications of the Commission were, as Simon truly observes, "memorable in the annals of England"; they are, indeed, memorable as the beginning of an immense advance in human welfare.

A new Poor Law Board was formed, with Mr. Edwin Chadwick as the Secretary, in 1834. The Committee made a Report; this was followed by a Royal Commission. In 1848 a Public Health Act was passed, the basis of all modern legislation of the kind, establishing a Central General Board of Health. This lasted only till 1854, when, owing to local resentment at central interference, and the strong contrary views of Chadwick, it was dissolved, to be revived a little later with some concession to local feeling. In 1855 a very worthy successor of Chadwick, Sir John Simon, was appointed Secretary. The Board was later merged into the Local Government Board. Millions of lives have been saved by the action and writings of these two men, encouraged by a sympathetic Government. Many times larger has been the number of persons saved from serious illness and suffering. For this the inceptors of modern hygiene deserve honour equal to that freely accorded to Lister and to Pasteur. Yet so little known is this portion of history, that the above facts have only been gathered through much searching in rather obscure places.

The present volumes deal with the period 1805-39. It will be convenient, however, to append a synopsis of subsequent activities. The following are the chief points in the later life of the subject of this memoir.

Secretary for the Colonies	...	...	1839-41
Speech on the government of Canada	...	June 12,	1840

Speech on capital punishment	March 5, 1840
Motion in a case of privilege, Stockdale v. Hansard	January 16, 1840
Carried against opposition a Bill rendering the privileges of the House a legal warrant for the report of any words spoken in the House and the circulation of any document laid upon its table. The powers of Parliament, the best guarantee for all other liberties, were thus confirmed and strengthened	1840
Speech on the question of confidence in the Ministry	January 31, 1840
Motion for leave to bring in a Bill dealing with bribery and treating...	May 28, 1840
Elected for the City of London (Member for the ensuing twenty years) ...	1841
Speech on Jewish Disabilities Declaration	March 10, 1841
Speech on the Sugar Duties. Proposed fixed moderate duty on corn, wheat, British oats, 3s. 4d. ¹	May 7, 1841
Speech on the question of confidence in the Ministry	June 4, 1841
Jewish Disabilities Bill again rejected by the House of Lords... ..	1841
Wrote a letter to the Poor Law Commissioners, calling upon them to institute inquiries into the causes of disease	1841
Corn Laws ; ministerial statement. Dissolution on a majority of 1 vote ...	June 7, 1841
Ministerial statement on resignation ...	August 30, 1841

¹ " This announcement filled the Liberal party with hope, the Conservatives with consternation " (Molesworth). It gave rise to the longest debate which had ever taken place.

Address : "These are my Sentiments"	1841
Speech at the "African" meeting ¹ ...	June 21, 1842
Leave to bring in a Bill for the Disso- lution of Municipal Corporations ...	March 14, 1843
Speech on the Condition and Education of the poor	February 28, 1843
Speech on systematic colonization ...	April 6, 1843
Moved resolution on the condition of the people	May 26, 1845
Speech on the Maynooth grant ...	1845
Speech on New Zealand... ..	June 19 and July 23, 1845
"Edinburgh Letter," advocating total repeal of the Corn Laws, which were the "bane of commerce and the blight of agriculture" ²	November, 1845
[Corn Laws abrogated by Peel] ...	March 2, 1846
Prime Minister	July 6, 1846, to Feb. 25, 1852.
Speech on the Sugar Duties	July 20, 1846
Motion on the Poor Laws	January 22, 1847
Motion for removal of civil and political disabilities of the Jews	December 16, 1847
Brought in Bill for Improving the Health of Towns ³	1847

¹ "At the African meeting we sat in the gallery with the Duchess of Sutherland, her three daughters, and Lady John Russell, all very striking women ; a capital speech from Lord John Russell, in which he thoroughly committed himself to measures of justice, humanity, and civil progress" (Journals of Caroline Fox, vol. i, p. 319).

² Bright said : "Your letter has now made the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws inevitable." And Lord Morley, in his "Life of Cobden" : "The letter had, in fact, done no less than this."

³ "A new Bill for Improving the Health of Towns has been prepared and brought in by Viscount Morpeth, Lord John Russell, and Sir George Grey" (Registrar-General's Report. Abstracts, 1847).

Supported Ten Hours Bill, which was carried largely owing to his sup- port	1848
Passed a Bill for Improving the Health of Towns	1848
The Budget, financial statement ...	February 18, 1848
Speech against Mr. Hume's motion on national representation	June 20, 1848
Repealed the Navigation Acts ¹	1848-9
Moved resolution on Colonial Policy ...	February 8, 1850
Speech on Australian Colonies Govern- ment Bill	February 18, 1850
Speech on the Slave Trade	March 19, 1850
Speech on Colonial Policy	February 18, 1850
Australian Colonies Act passed. Crea- tion of Victoria and Government of New South Wales	1850
Announced decision of Government to issue a Royal Commission on the State of the Universities ²	July 18, 1850
Moved for Reform of Representation ...	February 9, 1852
Resignation of Ministry	February 23, 1852
Foreign Secretary	Dec. 28, 1852, to Feb. 26, 1853
Edited letters of Rachel Lady Russell...	1853
In Cabinet without office	March, 1853, to June, 1854
President of the Council... ..	June, 1854
Resigned	January 23, 1855
Secretary for the Colonies	Feb. 22 to July 13, 1855
Mission as Envoy and Plenipotentiary for peace negotiations at the Con- ference at Vienna	February 20, 1855

¹ A great measure, opposed by many of the shipping interests, but afterwards found highly favourable to trade.

² To examine into their discipline, state, and revenues. "This was the first step in the long journey to their nationalization" (Morley's "Life of Gladstone," vol. i, p. 497).

Bill for the Constitution of Victoria ...	May 10, 1855
Second Reading of New South Wales Government Bill	June 14, 1855
Address on British eloquence	1855
Resolutions on National Education ...	March 6, 1856
Motion for an address on Italy... ..	July 14, 1856
Initiated State contribution to the Royal Society of £1,000 for research ...	1849
Address as President of Social Science Association	1858
President of the Royal Statistical Society	1859-60
Moved for Reform	March 1, 1860
Secretary for Foreign Affairs	June, 1859, to Octo- ber, 1865
Took a leading part as Foreign Minister in support of the movement for the liberation and unification of Italy. Was restrained throughout in a very arduous struggle by the Court, and by most of the Conservatives and some of the Liberal party. Was backed by the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, and by the fine energy of Gladstone and Stansfeld ...	
Published the "Life of Fox"	1859-65
Accepted a peerage as Earl Russell ...	1859-66
K.G.	July, 1861
Prime Minister	1862
Reform Bill brought in	October, 1865, to July 15, 1866
Reform Bill rejected	1866
Resigned office	1866
Address to the Devon Association of Literature, Science, and Art ...	1866
Brought in a Bill for creating Life Peer- ages	April 9, 1869
Moved Second Reading of the Univer- sity Tests Bill	July 19, 1869
Supported the Irish Land and Education Bills ; Speech in House of Lords	1870

- Speech on Foreign Policy, supporting
the rights of small nations and
treaty obligations August, 1870
- Pamphlet on the foreign policy of Eng-
land 1871
- Published three letters to Chichester
Fortescue on education About 1870
- President of the Royal Historical Society 1872
- Introduced a measure for the better
government of Ireland 1872
- Published "Recollections and Sugges-
tions" 1875
- First among British statesmen aban-
doned the old Whig policy of sup-
porting the Turkish Government,
and worked for the cause of the
oppressed Christians of the East,
where the most cruel massacres
had been many times perpetrated
under the encouragement of the
Turkish authorities 1875-6
- [In 1874 he had written : "From Adria-
nople to Belgrade all government
should be in the hands of
Christians."]
- Died May 28, 1878.

SOME COMMEMORATIVE NOTICES.

IN a leading article in the *Times* on the day following his death, May 29, 1878, there was a passage which well expressed the feeling of those who knew and admired him :—

“ We have lost a man who illustrates the history of England for half a century better, perhaps, than any other person of his time. . . . His long and illustrious career was an honour to England ; he rendered services which were surpassed by those of no other Minister of the day ; he never stooped to use unworthy means to compass party ends ; he has enriched the history of his country by the addition of a great character . . . In the Abbey there is the record of no more thoroughly English career.”

The Royal Statistical Society passed a resolution : “ It is not only that to his eminent labours is due in a great degree that active condition of English life which calls for the exertions of this Society, but, as one of its original promoters in 1834, and as its President in the years 1859 and 1860, he was amongst those who first recognised its necessity and was active in contributing to its success.”

The National Union of Elementary Teachers wrote expressing their high appreciation and deep gratitude for the long and valuable services to the cause of national education, and that "the industry, integrity, and courage which marked his career will furnish the teachers and scholars of succeeding generations with another of the bright examples of noble life which adorn the history of our country."

The British and Foreign School Society passed a resolution recording in eloquent terms its appreciation of his consistent life and untiring labours, and of his wise reforms, recognising that he was the fearless champion of religious unsectarian education when it was unpopular, and that he joyfully welcomed the awakened educational zeal of the country in later years.

Russell was President of the Royal Historical Society for seven years, succeeding Mr. George Grote. He was one of the original members. In the resolution of condolence in June, 1878, the Society expressed its respect for his memory as an elegant historical writer and a patron of learning and a consistent and upright private character.

The Anglo-Jewish Association at Liverpool recorded their high appreciation of his services to the Anglo-Jewish community in their efforts for emancipation and civil and religious equality.

The Anglo-Jewish Association of London passed a similar resolution: "The name of Earl Russell will for ever be associated with the free-

dom of religious profession now happily enjoyed by the Jewish subjects of Her Majesty, and each successive generation of Jews will be taught to venerate the memory of that great man." To Lady Russell they expressed their sense of the value of his distinguished and unsullied career, during which he acquired the unfeigned love and attachment of every class and section of the nation and pre-eminently contributed to render the name of Englishmen esteemed throughout the civilized world.

The Italian Government, through Signor Corti, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote : " He was not only one of the noblest figures in European politics . . . we relied upon him and derived that encouragement from him which alone could support us in the midst of the crises through which we passed." Garibaldi had in 1876 written of him as his ideal of a politician and human benefactor.

The King of Italy, Humbert, telegraphed expressing his own and his people's sympathy and the gratitude graven in their hearts.

The Italian Chamber of Deputies, through its President and many members, telegraphed in like terms.

Mr. Gladstone wrote in 1890, in an article on the Melbourne Ministry : " He brought into public life, and he carried through it unimpaired, the qualities which ennoble manhood—truth, justice, fortitude, self-denial, a fund of genuine indignation against wrong, and an inexhaustible sympathy with human

suffering. . . . There were no bounds to the prowess or the fellow-feeling with which he would fling himself into the breach on behalf of a belaboured colleague. . . . At the head of all these qualities was the moral element."

Mr. Gladstone alluded to his "splendid and chivalrous defence" of Clarendon in 1852. He defended Brougham when the King attacked him and his colleagues stood aloof; he alone of the ministers defended Durham after his fall; he defended the Prince Consort when the big guns of the Press boomed day after day against him; he defended Morier when wiseacres of the Foreign Office were slighting his merits and checking him in his mid-career; he tried to bring Cobden into the Cabinet against the prejudice of the Queen; he spoke well of O'Connell and tried to induce him to accept office when he was regarded as a dangerous demagogue; he "gifted the Prince-opposing Radical," as Leigh Hunt called himself, with a pension; he defended labourers against the severities of an unjust law. "A successful rival," wrote the first Lord Selborne, "found in him the most loyal of colleagues." "With rare dignity and magnanimity he retired from a great position, of which he was neither unambitious nor unworthy," wrote Mr. Gladstone. About this time, 1867, Dickens declared, after a visit to his home, that he had never known him "more fully armed at all points." In a public speech Dickens had formerly said: "There is no man in England I respect more in his public capacity or love more in his private capacity."

Sir William Heathcote wrote: "In debate he never mingled without raising its tone."

Lord Houghton: "Lord Russell has ever been to me the highest and most complete statesman of my generation. . . . The worth and dignity of the man never lost by public life and the conduct of national affairs."

Lord Campbell: "He is a very amiable as well as a very great man."

Lord Dufferin: "His conversation was delightful. . . . His existence, at least when I knew him, flowed at a very high level of thought and feeling."

Sir Arthur Helps to Sir George Grove : " He was the best company in England, whether on a journey or elsewhere."

Sir Robert Morier : "*Dans l'intimité*, he is more pleasant than it is possible to describe."

Dr. William Anderson : " I never saw any one laugh so heartily. He was generous to a fault, and easily moved to tears ; no one was more tender in illness or more anxious to help." Those who knew him well, and were near him, his family, his friends, and private secretaries, remembered his great and unvarying kindness. Though he was one of the hardest workers, and accomplished as much as any one ever did in national affairs, he never appeared worried, and kept the evening hours free at home."

Mrs. Drummond, his step-daughter, wrote : " Only the children he brought up can know how his kindness of heart, his earnestness, his simplicity of nature and purpose, heightened and sweetened the lives of all within the narrow circle of home. . . . He told us a great deal about tendencies of parties in the State, but always calmly and judiciously, not with the animus of one engaged in political warfare. Of cynicism and pessimism there were no traces in his conversation, and I should think none in his mind."

IN MEMORIAM.

Lines from verses in *Punch*, June 8, 1878.

"Content to wait, but still with trust to win
In God's fight, for God's cause—the good of man ;
Oft baffled, but with heart to re-begin
To-morrow what to-day's strength failed to span.

His road was ever on from Right to Right."

TABLE SHOWING OFFICES HELD AND DATES.

Paymaster of the Forces	...	December 16, 1830, to December 23, 1834
Leader of the Whig party	...	January, 1835
Home Secretary		April 18, 1835, to August 30, 1839
Ecclesiastical Commissioner		August 15, 1836
Colonial Secretary		August 30, 1839, to September 3, 1841
First Lord of the Treasury, Prime Minister		July 6, 1846, to February 26, 1852
Secretary for Foreign Affairs		December 18, 1852, to February 21, 1853
In Cabinet without office	...	February 21, 1853, to June 12 1854
President of the Council	...	June 12, 1854, to February 7, 1855
Special mission to Vienna	...	February 20 to April 24, 1855
Secretary for the Colonies	...	February 23, 1855, to July, 1855
Secretary for Foreign Affairs		June, 18, 1859, to October, 1865
Created a peer		July 27, 1862
Prime Minister		October, 1865, to July 5, 1866

THE STATE OF ENGLAND FROM 1800 TO 1832

THE condition of England during the first quarter of the nineteenth century is hardly conceivable by the contented citizen of to-day. Great Britain, unlike some other nations of Europe, had never had the experience of a social revolution, and the heavy hands of the rich throttled independence and ground the people into the dust. As to Ireland, its people were savagely ill-treated from century to century, impoverished by infamous laws, and driven into despair, crime, or rebellion.

The objects of reformers, mainly but not wholly of the Liberal party, were the abolition of unfair privileges, oppressive taxation, corrupt practices and inequality; the extension of liberty, wealth, welfare, education, and peace; the building of the nation in strength and happiness, the establishment of the colonies on a self-governing basis, and the

sympathy in patriotic union of the whole Empire.

In 1801 the population of England and Wales was 8,873,000. In 1900 it was 29,002,525.

In 1813 the population of Ireland was about 5,500,000; in 1900 it was reduced to about 4,025,647.

In the 58 years following 1816 the tonnage of British ships increased from 1,415,723 to 12,751,128.

In 1815 the majority of the House of Commons was said to be elected by less than 15,000 electors; 90 Members were elected for 46 places, in none of which there were more than 50 electors. In 1816 371 Members were said to be nominees in England, 45—that is, all—in Scotland, 71 in Ireland; 309 were elected by the Treasury or by persons of power and influence. The Duke of Norfolk was represented by 9 Members. The representation of Hastings was regularly sold for £6,000. One peer chose as member a waiter of his club. Close corporations were generally corrupt.

Large towns were not represented. Gatton was a park, Old Sarum a mound, Dunwich

was covered by the sea ; yet these returned Members.

Most people concerned in elections were either givers or getters of bribes.

“ More than four-fifths of the peers,” wrote Queen Caroline, “ hold by themselves and their families offices, positions, and emoluments solely at the will and pleasure of your Majesty.” “ The overwhelming majority of peers created by George III ” were, according to Buckle, “ chosen for wealth and votes which were marked by narrowness and illiberality.”

Game was preserved by terrific penalties. Shooting at a rabbit was a capital felony. In 1816 an Act was passed without comment, punishing with transportation for seven years any person found at night on open ground with any instrument for taking or destroying game. Spring guns and man-traps were common in plantations. In 1808 Parliament would not hear of the abolition of hanging for stealing. It was an offence punishable by death for soldiers or sailors to beg. There were two hundred felonies punishable by death. In 1815 a woman committed a felony in order to be

transported to join her husband ; she was hanged. In 1815 women were flogged. Twelve judges protested against the substitution of transportation for death for five-shilling thefts. Yet imprisonment and transportation were terrible punishments in those days. The county prisons were deadly. The worst and the best of the condemned were crowded together in filth, many to die of gaol fever. One instance of the horrible barbarity of the unequal law may be given ; for it is related by Sir Henry Hawkins, the judge, as having deeply impressed him. As a boy, when one day he was looking out of a window into the square at Bedford, he saw a farm-cart passing through the crowd, followed by a sorrowful couple overwhelmed with grief. These were the parents, very worthy labouring people of Willhampstead, whose son only 17 years old had been hanged that morning for setting fire to a stack of corn—a boyish freak. How many rich undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge have committed worse freaks or follies with scarcely a reprimand, and have attained high office in the State !

Spies were paid, witnesses suborned,

juries packed. Flash-houses, according to a committee in 1833, were in 1816 declared to be a necessary part of the police system.

Religious intolerance was rampant. In 1816 Peel contended that the admission of Roman Catholics to Parliament would lead to the abolition of the Protestant Church. In 1833 the House of Lords refused to admit the Jews. Nonconformists were excluded from office and from the Universities, and it was penal to deny the Trinitarian doctrine.

Ireland was crushed under deadly laws, its poverty squeezed for the luxuries of landlords, its hard-working peasantry relentlessly driven to desperation.

Heavy duties were laid on the necessities of life, and taxes on windows, glass, soap, candles, paper, newspaper stamps. These were repealed in the forty years following 1824.

Enormous abuses and inequalities corrupted the Church. Pluralities amounting to five or ten thousand a year were heaped on a favourite of orthodoxy.

The slave trade existed till 1807, and slavery in British possessions till 1833.

The state of the poorer classes was beyond

description. Distress, fever, and corruption degraded the people in every part of the country. Children were employed thirteen hours a day ; even those of only six, seven, or eight years of age were terribly overworked. Trade unions, combinations of workmen, were prohibited.

There was little education, no penny post, no well-lighted streets, no railway, no sanitation, no free press.

Such is the spectacle which a glimpse backward reveals.

Sir George Trevelyan has thus described the state of the British people in the period from 1790 to 1825:—

“ For the space of more than a generation, from 1790 onwards, our country had, with a short interval, been governed on declared reactionary principles. . . . Fear, religion, self-interest, ambition—everything that could tempt and everything that could deter—were enlisted on the side of the dominant opinions. . . . To profess Liberal opinions was to be excluded from all posts of emolument, all functions of dignity. . . . No motive but disinterested conviction kept a handful of veterans steadfast round a banner

which was never raised except to be contemptuously swept down. . . . The Press was gagged. . . . Every speech which a Crown lawyer could torture into a semblance of sedition sent its author to jail, to the hulks, or the pillory. . . . It was vain to appeal to Parliament for redress against packed juries and panic-driven magistrates. . . . Attendance at an open meeting for parliamentary reform was as dangerous as night poaching."

It was truly, as Sydney Smith wrote, "an awful period."



GEORGINA BYNG, FIRST WIFE OF LORD JOHN RUSSELL, AFTERWARDS SIXTH
DUKE OF BEDFORD.

(From a painting by Samuel Cotes. Photographed by G. Hollyer, Kensington.)

CHAPTER I

HOME, SCHOOL, AND TRAVEL

(1) *Lord William Russell to Russell.*

November 8, 1805.

MY DEAR JOHN,—Many thanks for your letter which I received a few days ago. Of course you have heard of L^d. Nelson's great victory, in which he was killed. It must be a very great one, as we are to have an holyday for it here to-morrow, which is a very great occasion.

. . . In your next letter to Smith¹ remember me kindly to him, and tell him not to forget his bet with Tavistock about my being made a corporal, as he has a very good chance of winning it after Christmas. . . .

Yours afftely.,

G. W. RUSSELL.

(2) *Duke of Bedford to Russell.*

W. A., December 4, 1805.

MY DEAR JOHN,—Tavistock set out for Uppark this morning. . . . I enclose you £5, the

¹ Their tutor at Woodnesborough.

His mother, Lady John Russell, to Russell, in 1801.

Addressed, "To the best of all good little boys."

3

1

of you from J. Moore

I bid Moore to whom

I thank you my

I beg you will give my

Angel for your dear

lovely — good step you

little sister — I am

my love your Papa

glad you like Mother

miss you was very

and I hope you will

good on the road &

try to learn as nothing

very pleasant give

but the necessity of

my love to dear William

learning would not make

2
us part with such a dear good
little boy - therefore my love going
study. give your whole attention to
your different labors & we shall once
more be ^{happy} together I miss you dear
more when I wake & I regret you
every moment of the day - soon I hope
to see you & to hear a very good account

greater part of which you will probably have occasion for before you leave Kimbolton. You will give a guinea to the man who takes care of your pony, $\frac{1}{2}$ a guinea to the person who cleans your clothes, and 5s. to the housemaid. . . . God bless you, my dear boy. Best compts. to W. Hy.

Ever afftely. yours,

BEDFORD.

Pray persuade Lady L. Browne to take a part in our *Theatricals*. . . .

(3) *The Countess of Bradford*¹ to Russell.

IPSWICH, December 7, 1805.

I do say, "better late than never," dear John, and I thank you for having at last found time to comply with my request. It is always a great delight to me to hear from you, and I feel so much interest in everything that concerns you and your brothers, that you cannot gratify me more than by writing when you have a leisure moment. . . .

(4) *Mr. Smith* to Russell.

PORTSMOUTH, December 5, 1805.

Thursday.

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—I had the pleasure of writing to your brother from this place, and I must have the pleasure of addressing you

¹ Sister of Russell's mother.

also. Our letters to the Port Admiral, Montagu, and the Commissioner, Sir Charles Saxton, procured every attention and every advantage in seeing all the sights, which have proved well indeed worth seeing. . . . We sailed to many of the ships in poor Nelson's battle, and went on board and all over the *Temeraire*, which fought two ships at once on both sides; she was well "pegged and peppered" with Shot—those were the expressions used by the officers; we saw the spots on which the poor men fell and the holes made by the Balls, &c., &c. We learnt many curious and interesting anecdotes—one only I have room now to give you—told us by Ad. Sir Isaac Coffin. The muzzles of the Guns often touched in this, I learn, most bloody engagement. Our ship being thus close to a French one, an English sailor seeing a French one close to the porthole, put out the Cannon ramrod with a screw or worm at the end, and fastened it into the Frenchman's breeches, and actually hawled [him] by force out of his ship through our porthole, and then said to his lieutenant who was near, "Here, your Honor, I have lugged in a Prisoner through the Port." Sir Isaac Coffin, second Port Admiral, attended us through the Dockyard, and took great pains to explain everything. We were highly gratified with the whole. But the Block House Machinery astonished us above all; worked by a steam engine, which at once and the same time puts and keeps in motion a great variety of

machines in an entire new construction, all performing different parts of the work of blocks and pulleys. Your Father will better inform you—no room nor power in a letter. As a Lieutenant expressed himself, “We went to hell and the Devils,” *alias* the Forge and Furnace house. Great numbers at the same time at work, metals melting, anchors red and hammering, and every species of hot iron and copper work—very hot and horrible altogether! but infinitely worth seeing.

Pray remember me most handsomely to your Brother and the others when you write. I beg my best respects to the Duke and Duchess. Adieu. God bless, guard, and protect you all in all your doings and in all your goings is the sincere wish of, my dear Namesake,

Yours very truly and faithfully,

DEAN SMIGO.

(5) *Russell to Miss Gertrude Russell.*¹

WOODNESBRO', March 24, 1807.

I was so indignant at the proposal of my riding a donkey that I was for a long time determined not to write to you again, but having considered that would be a reward instead of a punishment, here I am again. Though I have not taken the Highgate oath, yet I am resolved not to ride a donkey when I can get a horse. I suppose you know

¹ Daughter of Lord William Russell, senior, Russell's uncle.

what it is to be sworn at Highgate; if you do not, anybody will explain it to you, and if you do, my account of it will be very stupid to you. I have often heard that dreams go by contraries, but I think we may apply the observation with much more truth to women; nothing but a spirit of contradiction could make you call yourself by a name which Mrs. Seymour¹ has told you I disliked so much. Notwithstanding I have been so long here, I cannot help laughing at Mrs. —; she carries her economy so far as to lick up any gravy that falls on the tablecloth. . . . I have just received an advertisement to inform the public that the Battle of Trafalgar is to be represented at the village ale-house, and Mrs. — is making out how much the printing of the advertisement costs.

Yours most truly,

J. RUSSELL.

(6) *Russell to Lady Anna Maria Stanhope.*²

WOODNESBRO', June 3, 1807.

I am very sorry, dear Lady A. M., that I ever mentioned a foolish report I had heard by chance, particularly as it made so great an impression upon me. All I heard was that after you arrived in Ireland you wrote to some person your thoughts concerning the country, &c., and

¹ Sister of Russell's mother.

² Daughter of the Earl of Harrington, and afterwards wife of Russell's brother, the seventh Duke of Bedford.

that this person told your opinions to the Duchess of Richmond. Scandal, you know, always attacks the fairest characters, but you may rest assured that no report to your disadvantage can be believed by any who have the slightest acquaintance with you.

I am very glad that I did not hear of your illness till two days before you wrote me word of your recovery; it saved me much pain and sorrow. I was also extremely sorry to hear that Ladies Caroline and Charlotte Augusta had had the horrid measles; remember me to them in the best manner *you* can—that is, the best manner in the world.

There are few people in this world who think themselves worse than they really are; you and Mrs. Seymour are of this small number. If you were not, you would give up all wishes of writing like me, and only desire to keep your own happy talent. Lord Hartington is, I believe, canvassing Yorkshire; I am afraid he will not return here. The more I knew of him, the more I liked him, and I am not acquainted with anybody more pleasant.

I remain, yours most sincerely,

J. RUSSELL.

(7) *Russell to Lady A. M. Stanhope.*

WOODNESBORO', April 12, 1807.

You have been so good as to excuse the ill humour expressed in my last letter, but I cannot

easily forgive myself for it. I cannot at present recollect what it was made me so cross, whether it was that I had a quarrel with Mrs. — about making us eat the pudding before the meat, or that having attempted to take a book from Mr. —'s library, I found myself so covered with dust and cobwebs that I could not see to write good-humouredly ; or that I found such a quantity of spiders, earwigs, and ladybirds in my bedroom that I had run downstairs bewildered and half crazy ; or that—but I believe the real cause of my displeasure was much more important, nothing less than my despair of seeing you for some time. . . .

[An amusing description of the inmates of the school follows.]

(8) *Russell to Bedford.*

SEVILLE, *January 2, 1809.*
(Postmark, *February, 1809.*)

MY DEAR FATHER,—We have all been here safe and well for three days, not a little rejoiced to get from Portugal to Spain. On the same day that we left Lisbon (21st) the French crossed the Tagus by the bridge of Almaraz. Luckily for us, they were repulsed by General Cuesta's troops, and it is said that his advanced guards are now 4 leagues beyond the bridge of Almaraz. . . . Palafox has driven the French from Saragossa, and forced them to raise the siege. . . . Barcelona has been relieved by 18,000 French.

. . . Jealousy and self-interest have caused much misery among the Spaniards. I have seen two or three of the cleverest men in the country who were Lord Holland's old friends. They are miserable and heart-broken. . . . There are many things to see, but as yet I have seen the Cathedral only,—it is the grandest church I ever saw. . . . The desire for a free government among the people is not so great as I imagined. . . . Ld. and Ldy. Holland desire to be remembered to you.

Yr. affte. son,

J. RUSSELL.

(9) *Lord Clare¹ to Russell.*

(Write soon again.)

August 2, 1810.

MY DEAR JOHN,—Since my arrival in Ireland I have written but one hasty scribble to you in return for your two very kind letters for which permit me most *heartily* to thank you. I do assure you the only thing that made me regret leaving England was the idea of not meeting with you for some time longer, and it is now such a terrible time since we have seen each other, I almost begin to despair of ever doing so again. However, on my return to the Monastery in October I shall hope to catch a sight of you before you return to the Deists. I must be at Oxford on the 14th of October,

¹ Lord Clare was a school friend.

but God knows when I shall go to London, probably not before Xmas, and you do not go by Oxford to Scotland. I must, therefore, trust to the fates for a sight of you. When I was in London I had the pleasure of being introduced to your father by Lady Bath. I never saw him before in private, indeed, never except in the House of Lords, and I really could have fancied it was you I was speaking to, with a few years more on your back. Don't think I flatter you. Perhaps, as Smith says, when I am partial I am also blind. I was at dinner with your friend the Bishop of Limerick when I received your last letter talking of a most daring attack that was made on a gentleman of this county. [An account of an attack by armed men and of the difficulty of tithe collection follows.] As usual, when I write to you I have a great deal more to say than I have room for, but I will write soon again. I intend taking the liberty of enclosing this to your Father. I hope he won't be angry. I am very glad you have got a sister at last.

Yours most sincerely,

CLARE.

(10) *Lord Holland*¹ to Russell.

DUNBAR, August 13, 1810.

DEAR JOHNNY,—Many thanks for your letter which I do not like the worse for being warm,

¹ See note in Appendix.

especially as warmth in the cause of liberty is easily cooled but coldness not very readily thawed—besides which consideration, Grey's speech itself will furnish authority in that one particular at least, that ardor is a natural concomitant of youth. However I am anxious to answer your objections to his speech before I get to Howick lest you should think my Whiggism tainted by an air which you have so unaccountably determined must be unpropitious to it. Now then to the topick of Grey's speech. Your objections are either that his opinions are inconsistent with true Whiggism or that they are wrong without reference to Whiggism. *Vamos pues allá*. To begin with the question of peace I must observe that a love of peace *per se* is no more a Whig than a Tory virtue. Grey may be too warlike but he would not *ex vi termini* be less attached to freedom and Whiggism if he were as much so as Alexander, Marlborough or Lord Chatham. The question of peace or war is in its nature constantly varying. It is in general and certainly at this moment a question of prudence and expediency not of principle. To say that a man is inconsistent for supporting war at one time and urging peace at another is to maintain that human conduct is not to be guided by human events. I remember my Uncle used to urge as one of his objections to continuing *this* war that the continuation of it had a natural tendency to produce a state of things in which neither party could *honourably* or *safely* make

peace. Whether that time is arrived or not I do not now mean to argue, nor whether Grey thinks it has arrived, but this I maintain in sound logic, if it is arrived in any man's judgment, that man cannot be taunted with a dereliction of principle for having urged peace formerly to prevent its occurrence and for deprecating peace when it has occurred. But the fact is that many of our friends have a *twist* on this subject: the revolution war as well as the American war was a war of principle—it was a war against the right of a nation to chuse its own government, and for that reason *and that reason only*, all friends of Liberty and Whigs *as such* were bound to oppose it. The present war in its commencement was in my mind yet more foolish and unnecessary than the last but it never involved the question of liberty or Whiggism unless indeed in Spain, where Bonaparte is waging a war on the same diabolical principles (or even a little worse) as the Courts of Austria-Prussia in 1793. There is nothing inconsistent with Whiggism in waging a defensive or an offensive war with Bonaparte, it may be inconsistent with good sense or even humanity (and if it is unnecessary it certainly is so) but it has nothing to do with the principles of general liberty or the tenets of the Whig party in England. But though it may be no impeachment of Grey's character as a Whig it would certainly be a great one of his abilities as a Statesman if he blindly, stupidly, perversely, and passionately persisted in recommending a

continuance of an expensive, hopeless and improvident war; but does he do so? He urges the necessity either of an economical war or peace, he acknowledges the difficulty and embarrassment of obtaining the latter and as after all it must depend on *Bonaparte's* will as well as our own we can never make sure of it, and should therefore teach ourselves and the country to provide for the worst and look the probability of war for a long time in the face. But can *you* who in spite of Bonaparte's conduct to Spain, Holland, Switzerland, Rome, &c. &c., fancy that he will keep peace because it is his interest (the solidity of which argument by the bye must rest on his having the same views of his interest as *you* have) but I say, can you who maintain that we must have such reliance on the operation of men's interests on their political conduct either justly, honourably, or even plausibly attack our Ministers for want of inclination for peace which it is evidently so much their immediate interest to obtain, and if there be no proof of their insincerity in wishing for peace is it either right or wise to be holding out to the country and to France the absolute necessity of it? I mean is it the likely way *to obtain* it? When we were in office we tried to obtain it, by sacrificing Russia: I believe we might have accomplished it, without doing so we could not. Now was that result the consequence of Bonaparte's or our mistaking our interests? in either case Interest was not a bond of Peace

as you describe it. The difficulty of Russia and Sicily, comparatively small ones, prevented peace then either by our fault or by Bonaparte's, and are Spain and Sth A^{ca} no difficulties now? Can you in honour abandon the first and Portugal to Bonaparte? Can you in reason expect him to abandon them to you and Ferdinand the 7th? Even if you could make peace could you reduce your establishment, or in other words would Bonaparte reduce his?—and if he would not would you after the business of Bayonne trust implicitly to his honour and faith? I do not urge these reasons against *Peace*, but I do urge them against the policy of declaiming on the necessity of it and of attacking Ministers without proof positive of their indisposition to peace, for not making it, because I feel that difficulties in arranging these matters and not unwillingness to arrange them may deter them from concluding peace, and if that be the case I am doing my utmost *against* peace by clamouring in publick for it and charging them with unwillingness to conduct it.

As to Parliamentary Reform. I cannot quite agree with you that consistency depends not only on constancy in opinion but on zeal in supporting it, but after all that is a speculative point. Grey's opinion of Reform remains the same—he certainly at an earlier period of life somewhat imprudently and rashly entered into an association for promoting it without affixing very clear ideas to his object or at least without ascertaining

whether all his associates affixed the same, but long before his last year's speech, long before his Ministry and long before his celebrated motion for reform his ardor (in that sense of the word) had abated and he contented himself with recommending as a salutary measure, called for by the loss of character of the House of Commons, a temperate reform, in urging which he was very coldly supported by all and actually abandoned by some of those very men who are now so forward to accuse him of inconsistency ; and here allow me to observe that those who are most abusive of us for not doing more in the cause of freedom when in office and most clamorous against places and sinecures are precisely the persons who were most inclined to give up what little we did do at the smallest appearance of its risking our places, who blamed us most loudly for attempting those things by which we lost them, and who were so far from urging reform in sinecures and pensions, that they were the most clamorous against us for not bestowing them largely on our adherents and on them in particular. To return however to reform. I can only say that that part of Grey's speech seemed to me when I heard it to be admirable, that the notion of a reform being a cure for all our evils has *always* appeared and does now appear to me to be a very foolish delusion, and that the only reason for which I wish for a reform is because the House of Commons has lost *its influence* with the people,

not because I think a new mode of chusing them would make them either wiser, better or more independent than they are or than it did the only time it was tried in Cromwell's time. I have no interest in the borough system and if it depended on me I would get rid of the boroughs, but indeed, my dear John, I cannot concur in the vulgar and unjust abuse of *Borough Mongers*, nor do I think when you reflect on it that you will think any man a *worse* man for either representing or possessing a borough. The influence of property *must* exist, and I certainly think it is happy that it *must*, and if you were chosen for Bedfordshire you would be as much your father's Member as if you were chosen for Tavistock, nor can I believe that the worthy and complaisant Electors of the last place, if ever their choice should fall upon you, would exact as the price of their election the abandonment of all your principles or even of any part of the heat which glows throughout your patriotic epistle. Something of the same sort I might say of *sinécures* which I disapprove of as a bad, uncertain and uneconomical method of rewarding services, and which I for one wish most heartily to suppress more because they are *odious* than because they are *pernicious*, for I believe the evil they do, except in opinion, to be very little indeed. A certain disposition to Reform of Parliament and no alarm at it if the present mode be found to be inadequate to ensure the confidence and enforce the will of the people,

I allow to be essential in a Good Whig and I believe that Grey feels it, and am sure he acts as if he did. A reform of other abuses and a reduction of the expenditure I hold to be at all times good and at this period absolutely necessary for the maintenance both of our resources and of our character, but I do not think economy is exclusively a Whig virtue. Indeed I am afraid it has at no time been a very striking feature of their character, and till our time, I mean till the American war, they were generally the advocates of a larger system of expence than their opponents—they wisely changed with the circumstances of the times, and I am now ready to acknowledge that though a strict economy is not a necessary deduction from those principles which constitute Whiggism, a Whig who is not an economist would be a very bad Minister for this country just now, but Sir Robert Walpole was a very profuse, a very corrupt Minister and yet a very good Whig and a very wise Statesman. It would from the circumstances of these times be impossible to be a wise Statesman and a profuse Minister but there is no use in confounding times, and I confess much of what is said upon the inconsistency of Whigs seems to arise from a misconception of what is meant by a *Whig* or a friend of Liberty. As to the question of Privilege, I must say nothing or more than a letter would hold. All that Grey *said* upon it in publick seemed to me to be right. At the same time while I think Burdett wrong

both in the ground and manner of his opposition to Privilege, I lack some of that admiration of the principle on which it is supported, and much of that indignation at the clamour which the abominable perversion of it from its original purposes has so naturally produced. Perhaps Grey did indulge himself in invective against the Reformers with somewhat more acrimony than is reconcileable with true philosophy or even with the cold prudence of a politician, but is nothing to be allowed to human infirmity, and could any man's patience, much less a warm man's have borne the low abuse, the unfounded calumnies and the gross misrepresentations to which he has been exposed without retort or asperity? Look at Burdett's last speech, at his statement of Grey's language on reform which is not only what he did *not* say but precisely and directly the reverse of what he did say, and of what he is represented to have said in the very pamphlet Sir Francis affects to quote.

Allen ¹ is at Edinburgh; he will join us at Howick. If you really go to Cadiz, which you had better not, Remember me kindly to my Spanish friends, take good care of poor Charles and explain to Gen. Ferguson, Mr. Vaughan, Charles himself, and if you know him, Capt. Codrington of the *Blake* (where Charles now is) that I am particularly anxious he should *not* join the *Invincible*.

Yours ever,

HOLLAND.

¹ Librarian at Holland House.

(11) *Professor John Playfair¹ to Russell.*

EDINBURGH, August 13, 1810.

DEAR LORD JOHN,—On my return home yesterday from my Irish excursion I had the pleasure to find two of your letters which, from the uncertainty of my route, had not been able to follow me. Your commissions about the Scots pebbles I shall immediately endeavour to execute, though I am very doubtful of my success. The Beauty ascribed to a stone depends so much more on those who observe it than on the qualities of the stone itself that one has not any very certain criterion to go by, and though he may be sure enough of what pleases himself, he never can be very sure of what will be pleasing to others. If you wanted to collect stones that had certain qualities dependent on themselves only, such, for instance, as would strike fire with steel, would effervesce with acids, have a conchoidal fracture, &c., I might undertake your commission with some confidence. But as the present is a matter of taste entirely I would not have you to be very sanguine in your hopes that the pebbles I am to send will quite answer your opinions about the sublime and beautiful. Such skill, however, as I have I will most readily exert in any matter where you feel interested, and therefore shall immediately set about finding or ordering such a necklace as you describe.

You say you are beginning to hesitate about

¹ See note in Appendix.

your expedition to Cadiz ; I should think it rather too late now for you to attempt it, as stormy weather and the winter season are both approaching.

You say you are still sceptical about the application of the inductive method to the Philosophy of Mind, and you say very truly that out of 500 Philosophers each gives a different opinion. I am very much convinced, however, that if the matter were conducted according to the more precise rules of induction, something more certain, in many cases at least, would be discovered. Suppose, for example, that the subject is the sublime, and that we wish to inquire whether there is any emotion common to all the instances in which we apply that term and also what that emotion is. Let us take some particular instance, for example, the sound of Thunder, which all admit to call forth such emotions as the word sublime is usually employed to denote. Try to analyse the compound emotion which you experience in a thunderstorm, and let these emotions be denoted by the letters A, B, C, D. Next, take another instance as different from this as possible, such as, " God said, Let there be light and there was light," or some of the laws of the planetary motions, or the like, and on performing a similar analysis let the simple emotions contained in the complex one be A, B, E, F, it is then plain that none of the four emotions C, D, E, F, belong to the sublime, and that the sublime is really constituted either by A and B singly or

by A and B together. By having recourse to other instances A and B may be separated, or if they are always found conjoined, then we must conclude that the presence of both is essential to the sublime. Thus it seems almost certain that the truth must be discovered. The main difficulty seems to consist in the analysis of the compound emotions or the reduction of them to the simple feelings, A, B, C, &c. For this we must trust mainly to consciousness, and our attention to what passes in our own minds. I know not whether the theory that makes power the essence of the sublime would bear this sort of examination. It would be a good exercise to try.

After viewing the Giant's Causeway with great delight I made a run to Dublin, where I passed a week very much to my satisfaction. All I saw of Ireland and the People pleased me much. All joined, I was sorry to see, in condemning the Union, yet their arguments against it did not seem to be very solid. I shall attend to what you say of the Bills you are due here. Mr. Adam is here at present and probably will settle what relates to them before he goes.

JOHN PLAYFAIR.

(12) *Russell to Lady Tavistock.*¹

EDINBURGH, *December 23, 1810.*

. . . I arrived here without any material injury, but not without a great misfortune, that

¹ Formerly Lady Anne Maria Stanhope.

of leaving your silk handkerchief at the Swan Inn at Bedford, which sensibly affected both my neck and my breast. The company in the mail was not quite so agreeable as the society at Woburn, but what it wanted in quality it made up in quantity of conversation. I met with no less than four who had been in Spain and Portugal. . . . If one had been in Wallachia or Abyssinia a thousand interesting stories might be told of hairbreadth escapes and wonderful sights . . . but as for Spain and Portugal . . . such a country is not worth going to, and what do they suppose travellers to live upon if they are to be pent up to matters of fact?

. . . The news of this town is of two kinds—literary and scandalous, neither of which, I think, will be very interesting to you.

Yours affectionately,
J. RUSSELL.

(13) *Bedford to Russell.*

WOBURN ABBEY, FEBRUARY 7, 1811.

MY DEAR JOHN,—. . . You must be very cautious at this season of the year, and when the weather is so very severe. . . . For two or three days it was intensely cold at Holkham, and I hear from Devonshire very extraordinary accounts of the intensity of the Frost—the Tamar frozen over, the water in D. J.'s bedchamber frozen into one solid mass of ice. I liked your account of your *maiden speech* at the Speculative

Society much, and I believe it frequently happens to young speakers to forget the best parts of their intended speeches, when the only resource is to print their speech, which I recommend you to do, but do not fall into Lord Mountmorris's error, and publish in a speech *intended* to have been spoken "I perceive by the lateness of the hour" (looking at the clock) "that I have been unintentionally led into a greater length of argument than I intended, and I must also apologize for the unguarded warmth into which I have been betrayed by the heat of the debate."

What say your Northern Politicians to the Prince Regent keeping his old Ministers in their places? I imagine their usual phlegm will be disturbed by a proceeding so unconstitutional, but although the theory of your Constitution condemns the Act, it will be justified by the best feelings of your nature, filial reverence and affection to an afflicted Parent. . . . Ever your
Affte. Father B.

(14) *Bedford to Russell.*

(Inscribed in Russell's handwriting, February 18, 1811: "One of the best letters I ever read.")

WOBURN ABBEY, February 8, 1811.

MY DEAR JOHN,—You will have the goodness not to mention the intended honor of the Privy Council to Mr. Adam, unless you should hear the subject first started. The cause of his

declining it was, that it would have been a considerable loss to him in his professional pursuits.

There is an expression in your letter to the Duchess, which calls on my part for an explanation of my feelings on a recent projected appointment.

If *our Friends* had succeeded to Power on the Establishment of the Regency, I certainly had no right to expect that they should have offered me the Government of Ireland, still less that they would have offered me a seat in the Cabinet, which would have been not only unexpected but unmerited ; I confess, however, that I did expect that when another person was designated for the Lieutenancy of Ireland, some communication, some expression of kindness or civility towards me, with reference to my conduct when I held that office under the late administration would have been manifested. I had flattered myself (perhaps vainly) that I had so conducted myself in that responsible and arduous station as to merit the approbation of those most interested in the welfare of that part of the United Kingdom ; certain it is, that I received the thanks of all the leading members of the later Government of the King, and of the Prince of Wales, but perhaps these compliments were mere formalities, and we all know it is one of the most pregnant errors of human nature to be most vain of that in which we the least excel ; and possibly my supposing I had at all succeeded in the

Government of Ireland was the Phantom of my own imagination. I can answer for it, however, that my efforts were zealously, earnestly, and sincerely directed towards the melioration of the condition of the people of that ill-fated country from the moment I set my foot on Irish land to the very hour of my quitting it. I think I am not mistaken either when I say that I had in some degree conciliated the affections and obtained the confidence of the Irish people, that throughout the whole of my administration I had uniformly proceeded upon the broad Principle that all governments are made for the happiness of the many, and not for the benefit of the few ; that I consequently set my face resolutely against a system of exclusion, put a stop in a great measure to the destructive practice of *jobbing* (particularly in the Church) and endeavoured to dispense the blessings of a mild and conciliatory Government to all sects, and any description of the King's subjects. My hands were certainly tied up from doing all I wished in the first instance, but I still looked to a gradual, though not less certain improvement of the condition of the people of the land, and even if I could not carry every Reform at once, and dash headlong with the reformation of every abuse at one and the same time, I always consoled myself with the [truth] of the Maxim, *Omnia agendo nihil agitur, multo amplectendo nihil amplectitur*—indeed, when I quitted Ireland, and looked back to the various plans I had formed to give peace

and happiness and tranquillity to Ireland, many of which were daily unfolding themselves, I could almost say with M. Necker, who, when he was first dispossessed of power in France, upon looking into his portfolio and finding his many digested plans for the melioration of the Finances, exclaimed, with feeling of energy, "Je couvris mon front de mes mains, et les larmes sensibles coulèrent de mes yeux." Here is my explanation—a long one you will say, but I am sure you will read it with indulgence, and acknowledge that I had *some right* to be hurt. You are rather severe upon the late intended ministers, but if they had been honoured with the confidence of the P. under any other circumstances than those in which we are unfortunately placed, I think they might have done the country some service. As it is, the Prince's decision is, I think, upon the whole, the best that could be—my only fears are for Ireland where I think the continuance of a *No Popery Government* may possibly be productive of serious mischief. Perhaps you may be softened towards our Friends, if I tell you that you were proposed to be included in their arrangements.

If Lord Grey had returned to the Foreign Office he proposed to entrust an important mission to Mr. Adair, who kindly offered to take you with him, in any capacity which the Forms of Office would admit of; but I told him that I thought a few months (or, indeed, a year or

two) more with Mr. Playfair was very requisite, before you commenced your diplomatic career.

I beg pardon for this long interruption to your studies, and am always your affectionate Father,

B.

(15) *Bedford to Russell.*

HAMILTON PLACE, *March 7, 1811.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I have three letters to thank you for, all very satisfactory, particularly the last, dated the 1st inst., which requires a more immediate reply than the two former ones, which were in part answers to mine, without starting any fresh matter, as food for our epistolary communications; I feel, however, that I ought to assure you that there was no occasion for any apology for the observations you had made, or Expressions you had used, in your letter to the Duchess. I was only fearful that you might have misunderstood what she had said to you, and anxious to stand free from any possible misconstruction of my views or motives. I am always peculiarly solicitous that my conduct should stand clear in the Estimation of those I love, and among them my children occupy a very prominent Station. And now, my dear John, let me talk to you about your Summer Plans, as I daresay both you and Mr. Playfair are somewhat impatient that I should come to a determination upon them. I will tell you fairly what my own wishes are, and then leave it to the Professor to accommodate them as well as he can, to his own

views and convenience. I should wish you to come to Town with him, when his business calls him here, or follow him when Mr. Fraser comes, and as soon as the Professor has concluded his Business in Town, I confess it would be a great satisfaction to me if he could bring it within his arrangements to make a Tour with you through the Manufacturing Towns of England. You might employ with great advantage a few weeks in visiting the interesting and busy scenes of Birmingham, Manchester, Nottingham, Sheffield, the great commercial Mart at Liverpool, and leave the Professor at Leeds, thus far in his way to the North, for his summer vacation, when you might return to Woburn and pass two or three months pleasantly with us (for I should be sorry to give you up again for the whole Summer) and prepare for your return to the seat of Science by the Commencement of the Lectures in November. You will see by this, that I propose to give up the whole of the summer months to my domestick concerns in Bedfordshire, and I daresay that you will not be sorry that the shooting in September and October should be brought within the arrangement. Pray consult Mr. Playfair on these matters and let me know his opinion.

William is returned to Cadiz, and hopes that something *active* will shortly be attempted. I am glad to hear that you have been preparing an Essay on the *first six weeks* of the sitting of the Cortes ; this will not include the disgraceful and humiliating Period when by a majority of 68

to 56 they resolved to send the first Publication on Religion since they declared the *Liberty of the Press*, to the Inquisition instead of the Committee of Censure, which they had themselves instituted, to guard against the *Licentiousness of the Press*—oh, Shame! Shame! Pray send me a copy of your Essay. Mr. Playfair in a letter to Mr. Adam speaks well of your Efforts in his Speculative Society. Dr. Parr passed a few days with me at Witham before we came to Town, and wished much to make your acquaintance. He has a very high opinion of Dugald Stewart,[†] and spoke with much admiration of Playfair, but regretted to see his high and honourable name engaged in the Controversy with Oxford, in which he thinks the Edinburgh reviewers sadly disgraced.

Is the *violent Paper* on Parliamentary Reform now coming forth by Jeffery, or Brougham?

We are now settled in Town for the winter, and when you have leisure to write, pray let me hear from you. I shall go to Oakley for a few days next week, and mean to see the hounds *throw off*.

There can be no harm in your writing to Adair respecting his kind intentions. The Duchess adds her love, and I am

Always your very affectionate Father,
B.

[†] See note in Appendix.

(16) *From Lord G. W. Russell to Bedford,
written after the Battle of Barosa.*

ISLE DE LEON, March 8, 1811.

MY DEAR FATHER,—In my last letter I told you there was some idea of our making a Sortie from this place, as it was discovered that the Blockading army was less than the blockaded. But after many discussions and plans it appeared to be fixed upon that we should go out at Sancti Petri, and that Gen. Graham should command the whole. This pleased both the English and Spaniards, but, owing to some delay on the day appointed it did not take place, and the plan was again changed. We were to embark our troops and land on the Coast. Gen. La Peña was to command the whole. We accordingly embarked and sailed, but the weather becoming bad, the Spaniards put back and *we* were obliged to go on to Algeciras, instead of stopping at Tarifa, the place appointed. We disembarked there and marched to Tarifa, where we waited three days for the Spaniards. They arrived on the 28th February, and on the 1st March we set out towards Cadiz. We bivouaqued that night in a wood, and marched at 6 the next evening for Casas Veijas, where we arrived at 10 in the morning, and found a post of a Captain and 60 or 70 men. We took an officer, and 20, killed 5 or 6, and the rest escaped. Our Commander now changed his plan, and instead of marching to Medina Sidonia, made a flank movement to

Vejeo, from whence the French had previously been dislodged by a Battalion sent for that purpose. In this march our Chief lost his way notwithstanding the town was in sight, his numerous Staff, guides, &c. We arrived at 11 at night and bivouaqued in a wood. The following evening we marched at 4 o'clock and continued all night notwithstanding the request of Gen. Graham to halt the troops in order to bring them fresh before the enemy. Our General lost his road again this night. About 8 in the morning we arrived on the heights of Barosa, which are above the wood that extends from Chiclana to the sea, the Spaniards being always on the right, their advanced Corps was sent forward to open the communication with the Isla by Sancti Petri. This after a little skirmishing was easily effected. There now remained nothing to do but for the whole army to move upon Chiclana. Gen. Graham asked his orders, begging that the allied troops might not be separated, as a general action appeared to be inevitable. La Pena told him to move his troops into the wood, and that he would keep the heights. This was reversing the order of things, as the Spaniards had always claimed the right, and now they sent us there. Gen. Graham obeyed, and we marched into the wood, but had no sooner entered it than an officer arrived to inform us that the French were advancing from the wood to the heights in large columns of Infantry and Cavalry. We immediately turned

about, but the French had gained the hills and no Spaniards were to be seen but two battalions that were retreating towards the sea. The prospect appeared gloomy. The enemy had double the number, fresh troops, and the superiority of ground. But Gen. Graham was not to be intimidated. On our coming out of the wood they opened a heavy fire of Cannon and Musquetry from two hills in our front. Gen. G. divided his troops into two wings, with his artillery in the centre, and pushed on. The fire was tremendous. The French stood their ground well, and the moment was most critical. But Gen. G., riding at the head of his troops, inspired them all with a spirit and courage that was invincible. We kept advancing under an incessant fire, and the French columns stood firm. We were within thirty yards of them when the Gen. saw the Bayonet was the last resource, and he led on the 87th Regt. They charged, and the French turned about, but the poor fellows were so fatigued and blown, that they could scarcely overtake the retreating columns. However, they took an Eagle, the Colonel, many prisoners, and bayoneted several. The right wing had in the meantime gained the adjacent hill. A squadron of our Hussars, led on by Fred. Ponsonby, charged a Regt. of Cuirassiers and drove them completely back, and the French flew in every direction. Never was a victory more complete. We took the Gen. of Division Ruffin, Gen. Rousseau and Gen. Belegarde

killed, and six pieces of Artillery remained in our hands, besides an Eagle and many prisoners. Every eye looked anxiously for the Spaniards to put the finishing stroke. They had 12,000 men who had not been engaged, and they had but to appear to raise the Siege of Cadiz. But La Pena had retired to Sancti Petri, a league and a half off, and had left us to shift for ourselves. What could we do? It was impossible to follow the enemy. Out of 4,000 men, 1,200 remained killed and wounded, and the rest were harassed, weak and fatigued. We remained on the field of battle till dusk, when we retired to Sancti Petri, leaving a small force to bring away the wounded that might remain. We afterwards retired into the Isla, Gen. G. being determined not to let the Spaniards bring him into such another scrape, and from which he had so happily extricated himself. Thus ended this most brilliant victory, like all our others, most unfortunate in the final result, and in which more gallantry and determined courage was never displayed. Every soul seemed animated with the same spirit as its leader, and we have again shown that the British troops are superior to any in the world, notwithstanding that horrible fashion in England of crying up the French as invincible. Gen. Graham had a horse shot under him, and received a contusion in the breast. My Horse got a ball through his neck. This expedition will appear ridiculous enough. The Spanish troops are retiring to the Isla throwing all the blame upon us.

What they will say, to it in England I cannot conceive. If it was necessary to establish our Military fame, it is done, for 4,000 men with every disadvantage, beat 9,000 commanded by a Marshal of France, the Duke of Belluno. But we are unfortunate in our allies. I have given the best account of the campaign and battle that is in my power. It was short and severe ; but you will see Gen. G.'s dispatch. If it differs from this account, lay mine aside, for it is all from my own observations. I have neither time nor spirit to write to any one else, for in the last 60 hours I have not slept 4. To Tavistock and John and any of our near and dear you may send this and beg they will pardon me. With my love to them all, believe me Most affect. Yours

G. W. R.

(17) *Bedford to Russell.*

LONDON, *March 27, 1811.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I intended to have written to you yesterday, but various causes prevented me, and now I must be very short, as we are just starting for Woburn to pass a few days, but I cannot resist telling you that I have the most satisfactory accounts of William from General Graham, and a most admirable, clear, and distinct account of the action from himself, which I will send to you as soon as I possibly can. I grieve to say, that the

Conduct of the Spaniards in this severe and well-fought action was abominable, and I must impute Treachery in their Lines, Cowardice to their Commander. The result is melancholy. We must think what might have been done with a fair and zealous Co-operation on the part of our allies, and then think what little has been done. Never, I believe, was a more glorious victory gained by a handful of troops than this on the heights of Barosa. Graham has raised himself most wonderfully by his spirit, his Coolness, his Judgement, his intrepidity.

I like your Essay, on the Cortes very much, particularly the last part of it. Your own reflections are just and sensible, and fraught with a thorough knowledge of the science of constitutional Liberty—by the bye, Lord Holland tells me that you pay him the Compliment of saying that he is the only remaining *Whig* in England. I am sorry that you should exclude me from this honourable distinction, for whilst I agree with you that a genuine Whig is become a *rara avis*, I pride myself upon being one of the few of that description, and I think if I know what the true Principles of Whiggism are they are implanted in my own breast, where they have taken such deep root, which nothing can shake, whilst Life and Reason remain within me.

I shall most gladly *patronize* your review,¹

¹ The *Whig Register*, maintained for several numbers but never apparently published. A written copy is still in existence.

and if I find it more to my Taste than Ben Flower's, I will abandon my Friend Ben.

I am sorry to hear you have had any symptoms of Fever—pray take great care of yourself at this critical season of the year, and remember (notwithstanding my habit of *quizzing*) that “good Folk are scarce”—I hope you may, be able to read this hurried scrawl, and with the Duchess's kind love,

Yours affectionately,

BEDFORD.

(18) *Gertrude Russell*¹ to Russell.

August 18, 1811.

DEAR JOHN,—In my own name I now repeat the good wishes I have just expressed for your Father: A long series of years, replete with every happiness and comfort the world will afford, is what I sincerely hope you may enjoy. . . .

I am indulging myself in the hope that if you kept a journal of your tour, you will let me see it, or if not, that you will give me some account of it. . . . Believe me, dear John,

Affectely. yours,

GERTRUDE.

¹ Daughter of William Russell, John's uncle.

(19) *Mr. Edward Cartwright*¹ to Russell.

HOLLENDEN HOUSE, September 15, 1811.

I must cordially thank you, my dear Lord, for your kind remembrance of me, which I take the opportunity of acknowledging now that you are in your perihelion; for if I wait till you fly off to the further extremity of your eccentric orbit, my letter may probably never find you.

I am much flattered by the pleasure which your Lordship expresses at seeing my combing machine at actual work. In your excursion through Lancashire did you see no weaving Mills? there are above thirty, I am told, in that county alone. Could the time and money be recalled that have been expended on these and other mechanical pursuits, I should be a young and a wealthy Man. I do not, however, repine: indeed, when the pleasure of having benefited the public, to the extent which I have done, is set against the *res angusta domi* by which that pleasure has been purchased, I am not certain, whether in point of actual gratification, the balance is much against me. For there is a satisfaction in having been in my way useful to our Country which is not to be estimated by the common measure of gratification, time or money. And this satisfaction I trust, my dear Lord, that, when once you are fairly entered on the stage of the world and engaged in the affairs of it, you will every day feel.

¹ See note in Appendix.

It would give me much pleasure to have the honour of waiting upon your Lordship during your present stay in Bedfordshire. But mine and my horses' time are at this season too much occupied to have a single moment to spare ; and to travel to Woburn and back again would occupy several days. Should it so happen that you should be next year at the Sheep-shearing, I would try, if possible, to meet you there ; as, besides the pleasure of seeing your Lordship, I might have the opportunity of carrying back some information on agricultural subjects, which might be of service to me or to my neighbours.

The next time your Lordship visits London would it be impracticable to run down to Hollenden? You would with ease post it in four hours, and a young equestrian like you would ride it in still less time. The distance is only $27\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Bridges. I need not add how honoured Mrs. Cartwright and I should feel ourselves by such a visit. She desires to present her best Compliments to your Lordship.

I have the honour to be, my dear Lord, your
very faithful and Obedient Servant,
EDMUND CARTWRIGHT.

(20) *The Marchioness of Bath*¹ to Russell.

LONGLEAT, December 29, 1811.

It was a great pleasure to me to hear from you, my dearest John, and all the long *I*'s made

¹ Sister of Russell's mother.

your letter but the more welcome. There is nobody more interesting to me than that *I*, I assure you! Thank you much for giving me details of your pursuits—which are so very much what one would wish. It has always appeared to me extraordinary how much these points are neglected in general and the whole thing confined to Classical studies, which however valuable can never be so useful as many others. I never could understand why they might not go hand in hand. Talking of this puts me in mind to tell you that we mean to take Weymouth from Eton in the Spring. I have got a delightful clergyman to take charge of him then, who has been much abroad, has a taste for *les belles lettres*, is well informed in modern languages, an excellent mathematician, and a good man,—with whom I trust Wey will be happy and profit much, as he has a great taste for reading and promises to be a well informed man. We have not heard from Henry since he left us. I can well imagine the pleasure you felt in prolonging your stay at Oakley as long as possible. Tavistock and Lady T. are the *most amiable* of beings. I hear William is going to Portugal immediately. I have received two most affectionate letters from the Duke, who tells me he goes into Devonshire in the Spring. I cannot tell you how much I tremble for that property. Alas!

God bless you, dearest John.

Ever your affectionate Aunt,

I. B. [ISABELLA BATH].

Pray tell me what you think of Psyche, and whether you have read Lord Charlemount's Life.

With my whole heart I wish you a Happy New Year.

(21) *William Russell to Russell.*

WOBURN ABBEY, Sunday, January 5, 1812.

MY DEAR JOHN,—Many thanks for your last letter, I do not write to you oftener, supposing you to be wrapt up in Metaphysics Philosophy, &c. and making love to the Blue Stocking ladies. I wish you had been here; we had a most delightful party. Blind Man's Buff and all sorts of rows every night, which I am foolish enough to prefer to the learned conversations of Edinburgh or the criticisms of the Scotch reviewers. I suppose you and Playfair say "Ah! poor fellow, he will do for the army."

Do you know Jane Montagu? ¹ she is here, a more charming creature never was seen, beautiful as the morning sun, with a temper more heavenly sweet than ever was known. I never met her equal. But she is destined for a Duke at least.

Write to me now and then and tell me what you are about. I do not know when I go to Portugal but probably in a fortnight. Graham tells me there is no hurry as they are in Winter quarters.

Yours ever,

G. W. R.

¹ Daughter of the Duke of Manchester. Her mother, the Duchess, was a sister of the Duchess of Bedford, a daughter of the Duke of Gordon.

(22) *Mrs. Dugald Stewart*¹ to *Russell*.

(About 1812.)

I have delayed thanking you, My dear Lord John, partly from the wandering life we have been leading, but chiefly because I found myself unequal to express to you half of what I felt. If I were to mention one of the most delightful moments of my life, it would be that in which I read your lines, and altho' I have read them at least a hundred times since, the pleasure has always increased. To you I need not say that the subject and the sentiments were in my opinion worthy of each other, but I can with equal truth declare, that the Poetry both in point of taste and execution seems to me exquisitely beautiful and would have enchanted me had I known nothing but that it was written on a person deserving such praise. You may judge with what feelings I now study it, when *all* the circumstances of its history are combined. Allow me to say that such a specimen of talent promises much both for the genius and the heart.

I wish you had seen Mr. Stewart's astonishment, but tho' he would not allow its justice, he acknowledged its taste and beauty, and I am sure felt such a testimony of affection from a favourite pupil, a sweet reward for many toils. I often regretted the dull hours you passed at Kinneil from your own indispositions, and my

¹ Wife of Dugald Stewart the philosopher, whose lectures at Edinburgh Russell had attended. See note in Appendix.

being peculiarly depressed with anxiety at the time, but had I known your taste for poetry I might have been able to afford you more amusement by shewing you various trifles that would have perhaps interested you. May I hope that ere long we shall have the happiness of seeing you again under our roof: to many claims on our esteem and affection, you have added a spell that fixes my heart forever.

This is really a love letter, but unlike most such, it contains nothing but truth. May every blessing attend you. I ever am with the most sincere esteem

Your obliged and Obedient,
HELEN D'ARCY STEWART.

HARROGATE, *Monday*.

The Spurs were sent to Mr. Playfair's, or rather left there by our own Servant so I hope will be safe.

(23) *Mr. Clive¹ to Russell.*

February 3, 1812.

. . . I congratulate you most sincerely upon Lord Wellington's brilliant success against Ciudad Rodrigo; the effect it has produced here has been great and enthusiasm appears to have returned to Cadiz once more.

R. CLIVE.

¹ Second son of the first Earl Powis, who was grandfather of the present Earl of Plymouth.

(24) *William Russell to Russell.*

ISLA, May 28, 1812.

. . . This is the language of the Galle Anchor, it is a little enthusiastic, but we have all great hopes of soon raising the siege of this place; the battle of Albuera has been a most bloody one and the brunt of it fell upon the English. However I am delighted that the Spaniards have behaved with so much gallantry, it will revive their drooping spirits, the business at Ravenna never altered my opinions of them; all the fault lay as usual with the Chiefs, but La Pena so far from being hung will in all probability be reinstated in his former rank. I have to thank you for your letter from Edinburgh of the 22nd of April; this will probably find you in England, write to me often and let me know all the news of England, and believe me, very affectionately yours,

G. W. R.

(25) *Bedford to Russell.*

May 29, 1812.

MY DEAR JOHN,— . . . George Bridgeman¹ is going shortly with your friend Mr. Clive to Lisbon and Cadiz, and thence up the Mediterranean. Why should not you go with them? I think the excursion may be of service to your health, and to your mental improvement. We

¹ A son of Lord Bradford and a cousin of Russell.

can chalk out amongst us a plan of study, and you can take with you those books which may be most useful in prosecuting this plan. Foreign books you will of course be able to procure in *foreign parts*, and I know you do not like to be idle. Pray turn this in your mind, and let me know what you think of it. . . . Take care of yourself and do not let your military ardour lead you to too great exertions. . . . The Duchess adds her love.

Your affte. Father,

B.

(26) *Russell to Gertrude Russell.*

LONDON, July 9, 1812.

MY DEAR GERTRUDE,—I have to ask pardon for the time I have passed without answering your letter, but if you require news you have suffered no loss.

. . . You must have heard of the female added to our family. The Duchess is well and the child beautiful.¹ Would to God all children could keep their own and then we should have all beauties, instead of which nine out of ten of grown people are remarkable for ugliness or nothing at all. The other little girl Georgy² is really a beauty and her face promises a thousand sonnets and five hundred odes. . . . I have nothing for Lord William except a story

¹ Louisa, afterwards Duchess of Abercorn.

² Afterwards Lady Georgiana Romilly.

of Mr. Banks—the Prince told Sir W. Scott at the levée to send Old Bags the Chancellor to him at twelve o'clock the next day. Sir W. Scott thought he said Old Banks. Mr. Banks came in full expectation of a Peerage. The Prince sent him word he was busy. “Never mind,” he said, “I can wait.” . . .

Yours afftely.,

J. R.

I have a letter from William; his last date is Salamanca.

(27) *Russell to Gertrude Russell.*

PORTSMOUTH, *July 28, 1812.*

MY DEAR GERTRUDE,—Your letter of the 24th is full of interest to me, and I hope though I am a false accuser and a shuffling letter writer that you will treat me well when I am abroad, or certainly I shall not bring you a Turkish handkerchief. . . .

We, meaning Mr. Clive, Bridgeman and I sail to Gibraltar when a fair wind arrives. But as a fair wind is not so common here as a fair lady we do not expect to get off soon and we are going to-day to Ryde where I intend to pay my respects to Lady Ponsonby. . . .

Your affte. Cousin,

J. RUSSELL.

(28) *General William Napier*¹ to Russell.

SCINDE HOUSE, CLAPHAM PARK, *December 27, 1853.*

MY LORD,—In Mr. Moore's diary, edited by you, there are some inaccuracies touching his conversation with me; but only as to one of importance enough to call for correction, which I trust your Lordship will give in the seventh volume, because the error may draw on me an undeserved imputation.

In the fifth volume I am represented as saying that I was close to the Duke of Wellington the *only time* he was hit during the Peninsular war; that it was a spent ball, but the blow very violent, and it made him sick.

Now, it was known to me that the Duke was *twice* hit; the last time at Orthez, where I was not near him, and whether he then turned sick or not is unknown to me.

Mr. Moore misapplied a general observation of mine, viz., that small wounds very often caused faintness, when large wounds did not. My anecdote as told to Mr. Moore was as follows:—

“After dark, at the battle of Salamanca, the Duke rode up *alone* behind my regiment, and I joined him. He was giving me some orders when a ball passed through his left holster and struck his thigh; he uttered a short exclamation, put his hand to the place, and his coun-

¹ Sir William Napier, historian of the Peninsular War. His brother, Sir Charles Napier, was equally distinguished.

tenance changed for an instant, but only for an instant, and to my eager inquiry if he was hurt, he replied very sharply, 'No!' and went on with his orders. Whether his flesh was torn I know not, but there was no sickness."

I remain, my Lord, your obedient servant,
WM. NAPIER, Lieut.-General.

The Right Honorable

LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

(29) *Russell to Gertrude Russell.*

December 19, 1812.

DEAR GERTRUDE,—I do not know if you have written to me, for I have only received two letters, one from William and one from Lord Holland. But I hope to get a long dispatch from you at Malta, rather old, to be sure, but still interesting to a forlorn traveller.

Dec. 20th. Lord Wellington is here and plays his part well to the front. He dines with the Regency to-day, but Infantado, notwithstanding the Champagne and Burgundy he got at Woburn, has not asked me—shabby fellow! It is clear he is unfit for the government of a great kingdom! The Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo is not a bad figure here—he wears a blue hunting coat at dinner with the embroidery of a Spanish Captain-General and a star. The people here have received him coolly, but the grandee ladies are going to give him a grandee ball. The city of

Cadiz, out of their great generosity, made him a speech to-day on his arrival.

Fitzroy Somerset tells me that Francis is now going on very well in the Army. Gen. Packenham turned him out of Madrid for fear he should forget his duty ; it is said he means some time hence to make him his A.D.C. Francis is now gone to Oporto with the Prince of Orange.

We were riding out of Burgos to see the position, when we met Ld. Waldegrave in a very smart pair of pantaloons and drest out very smart to go to dinner. He is now gone home, so you will see him. Spanish society has been quite overthrown by the war, and all the women either hated the English or see a great deal too much of them to make it pleasant to travellers. *A propos* of Travellers, an army of twenty are coming here, and I fear they will occupy the whole country—we shall not be able to stir for blue coats, and they will make provisions as dear as the rest.

Jan. 1st. I wish you a happy new year. We had a grand ball at the Ambassador's the day before yesterday, where I stayed till seven o'clk. The Lord was there in his hunting coat and flirted with the Marchioness of Santa Cruz. My partner was her sister, who is going to be married to-day to the Duke of Abrantes. To-morrow there is a magnificent grandee ball. We go from here to Malaya and Granada, then to Alicant and Sicily. Next winter I expect

to be at Grand Cairo if there is no plague in Egypt, and the war still goes on in Europe.

Yrs. most afftely.,

J. R.

(30) *J. R. Somerset to Russell.*

HUARTE, NEAR PAMPELUNA, *July 1, 1813.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—Before this letter reaches you, you will, no doubt, have heard of the progress of our March, of the passage of the Ebro' and of the Battle of the 21st near Vittoria, in which the respectable King Joseph lost all his Cannon, amounting to 151 pieces, 100 of which were in the Action, and was obliged to seek his safety by an ignominious flight to the Frontier of France. It is said he is gone to Bayonne. We have since been employed in endeavouring to catch General Clausel, who was wandering on the Ebro with a force of about 14,000 men. But I am sorry to say, he has got out of our reach, and is in march for Zaragoza, when he will probably form a junction with Luchet. Our Troops require a little rest, as the Marches have been very fatiguing. In the meantime, however, Pamplona has been invested ever since the 25th. It is a place of considerable strength and will take some time to obtain.

Your brother is very well. I saw him at the close of the Action, and have since heard from him. He has refused a majority in the 40th Reg. which Lord Wellington offered him. Our

loss, including Spaniards and Portuguese, does not amount to 5,000 men, but we have lost an officer whom I shall never cease to regret. Poor Cadogan, of whom you have often heard me speak, was mortally wounded in the early part of the Action, and died within twenty-four hours afterwards. On receiving his wound, he begged that his face might be placed towards the scene of Action, in order that he might watch the progress of our operations. He is the greatest loss our Army could have sustained, and had a [devotion] to his profession and a laudable ambition to get forward in it of which few can boast. Colonel Fane of the 59th is also dead of his wounds. Another officer of rank has fallen upon this occasion. We have all King Joseph's papers, baggage, &c., and above 400 Ammunition Waggon. Worcester is supposed to have been within *cinq pas de Sa Majesté*.

I hope you amused yourself at Madrid. I am very much obliged to you for your very entertaining letter of the 7th, which I received before the Battle; and as His Majesty thought proper to issue a Proclamation for the Apprehension of so respectable an individual, the Quartier General felt themselves bound to use their utmost exertions to lay hold of a King who had made such bad use of a power obtained by such improper means. But, unfortunately, they did not succeed to the utmost extent of their wishes, although they would be happy to lay at your feet all his private and public letters, his love

epistles, and a considerable portion of his property. But this *parcoureur du pays* should have remained at H^d Q^{rs}, and should have been an eye witness to all his discomfiture, and to the errors committed by his Generals previous to the Action.

I was very glad to hear that the enthusiasm of Notre Bonne Ville de Madrid has not abated since last year. I shall be very sorry if you do not think them superior to any other part of the Spanish Nation. We have news from Paris to the 15th. It was then said, and had been reputed ten days before, that there was an Armistice between the Allies and Bonaparte, but we have intelligence from England as late as the 11th, and from that I am led to suppose that the account of an Armistice is a forgery. The Catholick Question has been thrown out—Lord Whitworth is named Lord Lieut. of Ireland, and the King has been *quiet and comfortable* for the last month.

You will be sorry to hear that Lady Chesterfield is dead.

Yours truly,

J. R. SOMERSET.

Worcester is with his Reg^t. March is grumbling because he has more riding than is pleasant. Alava desires to be remembered to you, and hopes you will not forget Espana in your researches for antiquities amid the Islands of the Archipelago.

(31) *Russell to Gertrude Russell.*

MADRID, July 15, 1813.

DEAR GERTRUDE,—I cannot thank you as I ought, for two delightful letters I received from you here. They were dated October and February, and I hardly know how they met me at last, but I was exceeding glad they were not lost, for they are perfection in length and matter. You deserve a dozen handkerchiefs, but I am afraid you will not get one, for my plans are subject to thaw and freeze very often. Upon the whole I think I shall most probably turn towards Rome at the end of this year. You will have heard that I left my companions and went to H. Quarters, where I met William. Events were then so doubtful, that I did not like to go with him across the Douro. Lord Wellington told me the French were likely to extend on this side, in which case I should have been completely cut off from Alicant. So I came here and entered the town ten days after the French left it. Much is razed and destroyed, but enough remains to show that it has been a most magnificent little town. Although the French were here four years, the people have true Spanish feelings, and shewed a joy at Lord Wellington's success, compared to which all London rejoicings are tame and flat. Few people remain here, and those that do have been so stripped that they can make no show.

I hear that William has refused a majority in

the 40th which Lord Wellington offered him. Frederick Ponsonby cut through some French hussars, but was beaten by a regiment of Light Dragoons posted behind them. I heard of Francis from an officer who saw him quite well the day after the action. The French on this side are all gone to France except the garrison of Pamplona, and they are retiring from the East also. The country may be conquered again, but those gentlemen who said the war was over two years ago have at least made a capital blunder. And the great loss of men which the French have suffered in this time is to be laid to the account of the Spanish parties or Guerillas. I have said all this as I believe you are an Anti-Peninsularian. We shall quit Spain in a fortnight, by way of Valencia.

I have bought some Spanish music here, as I suppose you will not get that I sent you from Cadiz. I shall send this by the first opportunity. The words will not bear a translation. If you meet with that Nymph who, you say, is fair as a swan, soft as a dove, and light as the mountain breeze, though I cannot imagine who it is, yet I should fancy that she would like Spanish music, so you may give her the best, but without the words. I am very glad you liked Hannah McKenzie; she has talent without wearing blue stockings. Do not forget Scotland, a Brook and a Burn you know are the same things.

My love to Eliza, Your affectionate Cousin,

J. R.

(32) *Prof. John Playfair to Russell.*EDINBURGH, *December 4, 1813.*

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—I congratulate you with all my heart on arriving at home and taking your seat at so auspicious a moment as this, when Europe is awakened to exertion and is succeeding in resistance to her oppressor. Britain has blundered through with great courage and obstinacy, and finally with wonderful success; of course, she now takes credit for the great wisdom of her proceedings, and considers herself as the Power that has been sitting above and directing the storm. Much real wisdom, and a great share of that moderation of which our counsels have shown so little hitherto, will be necessary if further success attend the operations of the allies, and if a permanent settlement of the affairs of the world is at last to take place. I am glad, in such circumstances, to see a person added to the council of the nation who carries with him the abilities, the enlarged views, and sound principles which I know you possess.

But no more of politicks. I could ask a thousand questions, but it would be unreasonable to expect answers, and so it is needless to propose them. Tho' I am most glad that you are come home, I feel some regret that you have not been in Greece, but you may perhaps accomplish that visit another time. You must be well acquainted with Spain, and must have witnessed there many interesting scenes. The country,

I think, is like now to be free, or at least to be bound in chains of its own forging.

Since I began this letter I have heard that you are looking thin and not quite in firm health ; if so, let me intreat you to take care of yourself. The House of Commons is certainly most trying to the health. Horner suffered from it amazingly, and you will if you do not determine to neglect business when health is against it. The *late* parties, too, are a sad addition to the disorderly life of a senator, and it is hard to say whether, in London, pleasure or business is the most dangerous pursuit. There is no safe rule but to be very moderate in both.

The person from whom I had first the pleasure to hear of your arrival in Britain was Lady Jane Montagu. She did me the honour to write me a most kind letter before she sailed for Lisbon ; how deeply I regret the circumstances that made that voyage necessary, and make the issue of it so doubtful. I am disposed, however, to hope much from the change to a warm climate. The manner in which Lady Jane has borne her distress, to the termination of which she has been *firm* enough to look forward with perfect serenity, has raised her even higher than she was in the estimation of all who know her ; and it was not easy to raise her higher in mine. As I must beg to hear from you sometimes, I will be much obliged to you if you will let me know what are the accounts of her health. It was said once in the newspapers that the Duke

himself was not well, and that the voyage to Lisbon was at least partly on his account. I hope this is not true.

May I beg of you to have the goodness to remember me at Holland House? I have been sorry to hear but indifferent accounts of Lady Holland's health for some time past; I understand, however, that she is now better, and I hope she is likely to get quite well.

I need not tell you how anxiously, I shall wait for your first speech. It should, perhaps, neither be very soon nor very late, and certainly (I hope you will agree with me) on no common or trifling subject.

Your return has given great joy to all your friends here; I have congratulations to offer you from them all—from the Elliots, Kennedys, Mackenzies, and from the *Club*. Jeffrey, you have heard probably, has gone to America to fetch a wife. We expect him to arrive with his *cara sposa* in the course of the present month.

I must request, my dear Lord John, to hear from you now and then, when you have nothing better to do—if such a condition ever can befall you. This much I will venture in my own recommendation, that you can hardly write to any one who is more sincerely interested in your welfare, or to whom your letters will give more pleasure. I am, with the most sincere esteem and regard yours, &c.,

JOHN PLAYFAIR.

(33)

The following Memorandum referring to events in the Peninsular War was written by Russell in 1838 :—

I dined one day with Lord and Lady Aberdeen. The party consisted of Lord and Lady Aberdeen, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Rogers, and me.

The conversation turned upon the surprise of Oporto by the English army.

The Duke of Wellington related that a very few soldiers went at first to the bank of the river. They found only one boat there, but it occurred to them and their officers that if they crossed the river they might find other boats on the right bank and bring them over.

The Duke of Wellington had been told that Marshall Soult had gone to the top of a tower from which he could see the banks of the river.

Some of his staff told him that they saw some men in red uniform in a boat who might probably or possibly be English soldiers.

But Marshall Soult observed that they were probably Swiss soldiers, who likewise wore a red uniform and that they were going to bathe in the river.

But in reality the boat contained English soldiers who carried back with them a few empty boats and were enabled to effect a surprise of the French garrison of Oporto. On the same day

the French army evacuated Oporto, and without cannon or baggage commenced their retreat by the North of Portugal.

A mistake of a similar nature but with precisely opposite effects occurred two or three days after in the neighbourhood of Lamego.

The whole country is in that part divided by deep chasms or abysses which are crossed by high and narrow bridges. One of these bridges—if I am not mistaken—went by the name of Miraveti. The English general had dispatched a few soldiers and engineers with the view of blowing up the bridge and thus cutting off the retreat of the French army.

Some Portuguese peasants who had crossed the bridge of Miraveti met at the distance of some miles a French division who had with them a regiment of Swiss dressed in red uniforms.

The peasants, mistaking them for English, went up to them and said: "We have just left your friends at the bridge where they are at work; you will find them there." The Swiss Colonel went up to his French Commander and said: "The English are before us, preparing to blow up the bridge. We must make haste in order to prevent them." Owing to this accident the bridge was saved, and the retiring French pursued their course.

I give this account as it was told to me by the Duke of Wellington.

(34) *Russell to Francis Horner*¹

LISBON, October 28, 1814.

DEAR HORNER,—I can give you but little news from this place of the state of Spain. . . . All letters are opened, but persons here have got accounts by the hands of peasants that the party of the Cortes is formidable and may be expected to succeed. . . . I do not believe the parties will openly wage war, tho' some concession will probably be made by the Court—Vaughan is not in favour with Ferdinand.—We sail to-morrow for Nice, and go afterwards to Rome. Pray give me your advice as to my plans for the next two years. Italy is not to be seen in a month; my health is hardly good enough yet to attend zealously to the H. of Commons, and it would not be of much use for me to be in London merely for the last months of the session. These reasons make me think of travelling till next Christmas year, in which time I may improve both my constitution and my understanding.—But if you think there will be anything of importance in the H. of Commons this year, or that I ought to lose no time in devoting myself to the study of business there, I shall be ready to return from Rome or even from Nice.—Pray write, and send your letter to Hamilton Place.

Yrs. truly,

J. RUSSELL.

¹ See note in Appendix.

(35) *Russell to Tavistock.*

ROME, December 29, 1814.

MY DEAR TAVISTOCK,—I returned yesterday from Elba, and found my father safely housed here. He had accomplished the journey from Florence very successfully, but Lady Jane is evidently weaker than when I left her there. You will perhaps be curious to hear something of the great man that I have been to see. He is in person stout and very fat, without much majesty in his air, and still less terror in his looks. He was, indeed, extremely good-natured, and during the hours I was alone with him talked and encouraged me to talk on every subject. He blamed very much our sending Wellington to Paris, as no one likes to see the man by whom he has been beaten. He is of opinion that there will be no war in Europe at present, but he thinks it likely that the Congress will spin out a long time, and that Russia will keep Poland and Prussia Saxony as it were in abeyance. He is very gay, and certainly not unhappy, but at the same time I do not think him easy in his present situation, and very far indeed from the tranquillity of a philosopher. He spends his time chiefly in building and furnishing a country house about two miles from his wretched palace in Porto Ferrajo. His government there is in the same spirit as his former rule in France ; a village having refused to pay him contribution, he sent a detachment of troops to

live there at free quarters, seized two priests, and had them condemned to imprisonment by a military tribunal. They were soon let out, however. Talking to me of the American war, he said, "C'est une guerre de vengeance; the frontier can be of no importance to you, and you have no object in continuing the contest." He thinks it weakens us at the Congress.

Post going out. My love to Lady T.

Yours in haste,

J. R.

P.S.—Many thanks for your letter of November 5th.

CHAPTER II

First years in Parliament—Literary friendships and authorship—Holland House—The state of the nation—Secret inquiry of the House of Lords—Threatened liberty—Reasons for conciliatory measures—Shelley's "Revolt of Islam"—Russell's "Life of William Lord Russell"—Political and literary events—Letters from Althorp, Rogers, Moore, Mackintosh, Foscolo, Sydney Smith, Lafayette—Byron's Memoirs.

(36) *From an unknown correspondent, probably to Lady Bath.*

(Date wanting, but apparently before 1820.)

I believe, dearest Isabella,¹ . . . I have lately been a correspondent quite suited to Lord George's taste, but certainly not to yours, my beloved friend, and nothing but the state of my mind has occasioned my sending you such unpleasant answers to your amiable letters. . . . [After saying that Lord John intends to come and see her, she writes :] He is so hurried that he has never wrote me anything but the affairs of the nation. I am sure if he is not a patriot there never was one, and I am quite frightened at the effects which the late debates have produced. Heaven preserve him from danger ! A more estimable being does not exist, true honour

¹ Isabella was his aunt, Lady Weymouth, afterwards Marchioness of Bath.

and integrity have marked every moment of his life ; since I have known him I never heard one thought expressed by him that showed either a want of candour or liberality or which publicly told would not have shown the uprightness of his mind. Incapable of expressing how greatly I revere him, you will forgive me dearest Isabella if I have not checked my heart on a subject very interesting to me, and in which I am sure you will understand me better from your own feelings than from my words.

(Rest missing.)

(37) *Correspondence of Francis Horner.*
Vol. ii, p. 341. Lord Holland to Francis Horner.

September 28, 1816.

Here is John Russell, who used to be our invalid, quite well and strong, and not a little delighted with one of our guests, Foscolo, a native of the Greek Islands, who, overtaken by the great events of 1796 and 1797, joined the Cisalpine Republic, and forfeited Buonaparte's favour by the uncourtly mixture of admonition which he infused into a speech of congratulation on his election to the Presidency of the Italian Republic in 1802. He has since that time served in the army, been imprisoned, persecuted, and suspected, till, on the battle of Leipsig, he espoused the fallen fortunes of Buonaparte with great zeal. . . . His learning and vivacity are wonderful, and he seems

to have great elevation of mind, and to be totally exempt from affectation, though not, perhaps, equally so from enthusiasm, violence, and resentment.

(38) *Bedford to Lord Grenville.*¹

WOBURN ABBEY, *February 9, 1817.*

MY DEAR LORD,—Lord Sidmouth wrote to me to inform me that my name was on the List of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, and that the Committee would meet for the first time on Friday Morning. When I received his Letter I had been confined to my house for some days by indisposition, and could not then undertake a journey to London without considerable risk—although I am much better, I do not even now feel equal to the fatigue and anxiety unavoidably attendant on a Committee of this nature, and have, in consequence, written to Lord Sidmouth by this day's post to excuse myself from attending. The only circumstance that can make me regret being obliged to absent myself from the discharge of a duty which cannot but prove extremely irksome, when imposed on those who are unconnected with Government, is the wish you have been good enough to express, that I should take my share in the labours of the Committee; at the same time I must not in fairness conceal from you my appre-

¹ Lord Grenville was a Whig Member of much influence but independent views. He had been Prime Minister in 1806.

hensions that we should differ in our view of the measures fit to be recommended to Parliament. . . .

The conduct of Ministers during the last Session of Parliament tended much to aggravate and increase the Mischief which a wise and prudent Government would have averted—all inquiry into the actual state of the Country was pertinaciously refused; no reform of existing abuses, no retrenchment of useless and Extravagant Expenditure, would be listened to; the intolerable weight of taxation under which the Country was groaning was still to be kept up to maintain an enormous Peace Establishment, and a prodigality of Expence in every department of the State, which the people were wholly unable to bear; this naturally had a tendency to irritate and inflame the sore, rather than soften and heal those asperities which were too evidently laying hold of the Public Mind, and the Nation saw the Parliament separate without having effected one single Object for their relief, with the exception of the repeal of the Property Tax, a measure carried solely by the Petitions of a Suffering People. If a few factious Demagogues have been talking to ignorant assemblages of the lower Classes, about Annual Parliaments, and universal Suffrage, the nonsense is justly scouted by the great Mass of the Community, and surely we ought not on such insufficient grounds to be called upon, “to draw a Bill of Indictment against a whole Nation.”

If strong and coercive measures should now be adopted by Parliament, if the Right of Petition should be unnecessarily infringed, if the power of the Crown should be strengthened for the sole purpose of abridging the people's liberties, then, indeed, will the breach be widened between the Government and the People, then will distrust and suspicion take [the] place of confidence and harmony, and I foresee nothing but misery and calamity as the inevitable results.

The People look to Conciliation, temper, and kindness from the Government, together with a sincere desire to redress their Grievances, to reform abuses, and to introduce a Spirit of Economy and Retrenchment into the Public Expenditure; and such a disposition unequivocally manifested will do more than a thousand Acts of Parliament to suppress the discontents of the people, and will secure the protection of the Public Peace against every danger. It is impossible for any one to feel more strongly than I do the necessity of vindicating the independence of Parliament against the slightest appearance of force or intimidation, and I am persuaded that the existing laws of the Country are fully adequate to that purpose.

I cannot help being reminded by the present situation of this Country as described by you, of the state of Ireland during the period of my short Administration in that Country — very serious disturbances existed in several parts of Ireland, mischievous and ill-disposed persons

took advantage of those disturbances, and endeavoured to inflame and increase the discontent. I was strongly urged, and even by some with whom I was associated in the Government of Ireland, to resort to strong measures, and put in force the Insurrection Act.—I felt convinced in my own Mind that the Ordinary Operations of the Law, administered in a combined Spirit of Temper and Firmness, were sufficient to put an end to the disturbances, and the result justified my Opinion—before I quitted Ireland I had the satisfaction to write to Lord Liverpool, then Secretary of State, that the Country was perfectly restored to a State of Peace and Subordination, without in the slightest degree compromising the dignity or the safety of the Government; and it is with no small degree of pride that I reflect that my conduct on that occasion met with your entire approbation.

I feel quite ashamed of having troubled you at so much length, and fear I shall have quite exhausted your patience, but the kind manner in which you expressed a wish for my humble assistance on the Committee, and my anxiety not to be misunderstood by you on a subject of so much importance to the best interests of the Country, must plead my excuse.

Believe me always, My dear Lord,

With very sincere regards,

Yours most faithfully,

BEDFORD.

To the LORD GRENVILLE.

(39) *Earl Grey to Bedford.*PORTMAN SQUARE, *February 11, 1817.*

MY DEAR DUKE,—I return the copy of your letter to Lord Grenville, which I have read with great pleasure. Nothing can be better, and I sincerely hope it may produce some effect upon him. But I very much fear that the alarm he expressed in his letter to you has been greatly increased by the case which Ministers have brought before the Committee. This case, I am told, by a person not more likely to be alarmed than either you or I, is indeed a very strong one, proving the existence of a very extensive conspiracy and plan of insurrection, which Government would have been without excuse not to have guarded against by all the measures which they have taken. I shall wait very anxiously for the report of the Committee, and for the measures to be founded upon it, but it will require a great deal to convince me that it is necessary to arm the Crown with any new powers, to provide against the danger which is stated to have existed, but which I trust is already in a great measure overcome.

Lady Grey, I am happy to tell you, is much better. She joins with me in everything that is most kind to the Duchess.

The papers will give you an account of the proceedings yesterday in Spa fields, which were

thought of sufficient importance to post to me the proceedings in both Houses of Parliament.

I am, my Dear Duke,

Ever most truly yours,

GREY.

(40) *Russell to F. Horner.*

(Sent to Pisa. Mr. Horner died there on February 8, 1817.)

LONDON, *February 21, 1817.*

DEAR HORNER,—I hope the improvement you found in your health at the date of your last letter continues. . . . London is more absorbed in politicks than at any period I ever remember excepting at the abdication of Napoleon. . . . The Ministry are tossed from side to side by the country gentlemen, and I believe Canning and Castlereagh are moreover decided. Lord Liverpool had a meeting of his supporters the other day when he told them he would give up all sinecures but not one Government office. Opposition have succeeded in shaking all confidence in Ministers but have obtained none for themselves—Things will jolt on in this way till next year, the Crown acquiring in power from the alarmists what they lose in influence from the cry of Retrenchment—The Reports from the Secret Committees will give a dreadful idea of our situation in foreign countries. I hope before you leave Italy you will visit the classical parts of it—The spring at Rome and Naples and even

at Florence is delightful and I hope no premature desire of returning to business will prevent your enjoying the sun of April amongst the ruins of Antiquity—The last time I saw the Coliseum the day was warm and clear; the shadows dark and broad—the crumbling building was covered with bushes and wallflowers to the very top and birds were singing (as it seemed) from every one of them.

The *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh Reviews* are come out—I have only read the former but they seem to be both as usual violent and intemperate—An article by Walter Scott on L^d. Byron is very able but singularly partial to his moral character—Jeffery too has been very kind—I do not know whether it is worse that he should be abused as a bad man, and allowed to have more power than any one over our feel . . .¹ or acquitted of all blame on account of the beauty of his writings.

I dined with Rogers the day before yesterday—he shuts himself up in his bird-cage, and warbles only to his particular friends—If the Spencean plot should succeed his four acres will be cultivated with roses, bays, and stinging nettles, Castlereagh's with convolvulus and poppy, Canning's with blackthorn and sunflower, and Vansittart's with turnip only.

Yours very truly,

J. R.

¹ Piece of the letter cut out.

The members of the Secret Committee in both Houses were, as you see, unanimous. My father wrote a letter to L^d. Grenville declining to attend. One of his reasons against all strong measures was that in a more dangerous state Ireland had been brought to tranquillity in 1806, without any exertion beyond the law, tho' some associated in the Gov^t. with him recommended it. Considerable alarm has been felt, but I think it will not hold.

(41) *Shelley to Moore.*

ALBION HOUSE, MARLOW, *December 16, 1817.*

DEAR SIR,—The present edition of “*Laon and Cythna*” is to be suppressed, and it will be republished in about a fortnight under the title of “*The Revolt of Islam*,” with some alterations which consist in little else than the substitution of the words *friend* or *lover* for that of *brother* and *sister*. The truth is that the seclusion of my habits has confined me so much within the circle of my own thoughts, that I have formed to myself a very different measure of approbation or disapprobation for actions than that which is in use among mankind; and the result of that peculiarity, contrary to my intention, revolts and shocks many who might be inclined to sympathize with me in my general views.—As soon as I discovered that this effect was produced by the circumstance alluded to, I hastened to cancel it, not from any personal

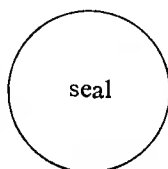
feeling of terror or repentance, but from the sincere desire of doing all the good and conferring all the pleasure which might flow from so obscure a person as myself. I don't know why I trouble you with these words, but your kind approbation of the opening of the poem has emboldened me to believe that this account of my motives might interest you.

The little volume which you have been quick-sighted enough to attribute to its real author is composed of two letters written to me signed S and some other letters and the Journal signed M written by Mrs. Shelley. I ought to say that the Journal was written some years ago—the style of it is almost infantine, and it was published in the idea that the author would never be recognised. The letters from Geneva were written in the summer of 1816, and the voyage round the lake, described in one of them was made in the society of Lord Byron, and its memory derives from that circumstance the light of an enchantment which can never be dissolved. I mention this because *you* were often the theme of our conversations, from which I learned that you were intimate with him. I ought to say that Mrs. Shelley, though sorry that her secret is discovered, is exceedingly delighted to hear that you have derived any amusement from our book.—Let me say in her defence that the Journal of the Six Weeks Tour was written before she was seventeen, and that she has another literary secret which I will in a short

time ask you to *keep* in return for having discovered this. What right have I to have written all this to you?

Dear Sir

You
& Sin
Per



very obliged

[Caught in seal.]

(42) *Viscount Althorp*¹ to *Russell*.

(Outside: "A Milord John Russell à Florence en Italie."
Postmark, Gennaio and Genoa.)



ALTHORP, *January 2, 1818.*

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—I know myself too well not to sit down instantly to answer your letter of the 15th of last month, and which I received about an hour since. If I put it off till to-morrow I am sure I could not do it, for I should conjure up all sorts of dissuasions from writing to one whose goodness to me I have so barely requited—who *ought* to be angry at my intolerable silence and whose forgiveness I

¹ See note in Appendix.

have no claim to—But your most kind and friendly letter has so warmed my heart that just now I defy the fears of my conscience and I hasten to do what perhaps in a cooler moment I should not find courage to perform. I am a sad and inexcusable correspondent, and my own family is so large and so dispersed that my small stock of letter-writing faculty is all exhausted by them—but do not cast me away as entirely worthless, my dear young friend, altho' I have been so remiss towards you—and you shall have a letter from henceforward whenever you call for one. Be sure of one thing—that your kindness to me is most thoroughly appreciated—and that the delight I felt this morning on reading the expressions of it was so uncontrollable that a very numerous breakfast assemblage became sharers in it, and all participated and entered into my cordial pleasure at finding that you still bore with me. Amongst this assemblage were two who both instantly began to lament your absence and wish for your return most deeply. They are such instances of the wonder performed on unintelligible complaints by Doctor Scott's baths, that they are most anxious you should become one of his patients—these two renovated persons are Tierney and Mackintosh—You can have no idea of the robust health and recovered spirits which these baths have accomplished for them—and I quite agree with them in believing that you would derive considerable benefit from the use

of them. To use them you must come home again, and I cannot express how much, therefore, I wish you would listen to the advice these two men would give to you on this subject, and which they only want your sanction to give you by letter—As you approve of my notions on certain subjects I am happy to say that they remain unchanged. Every trial which has taken place in England and Scotland has afforded proof of *our* having been right and of our *opposers* being wrong—nothing is so true as that our real danger is not disaffection to the powers that are, but too servile an affection for them—and believing that this is the true object of fear, I for one encourage a hope that the quick succession of folly, wickedness and tyranny which *our Line* holds out to us will hereafter weaken what is grown so fearfully strong, and strengthen what has diminished in wholesome influence so fatally ever since the accession of our —. On this point of view I found consolation in our late subject of mourning— Do you understand all I have been saying? I think that a certain great house in B. Square will be the *point de réunion*, and will lead a certain band of honest men—at least I, who look on, and observe and combine, believe this course will take place without any direct intention of management of any one—it will naturally arise from the nature of things—I confess I like it well—and I should hope to see better days from some such arrangement if our Plebeians would

[keep] quiet—but everything they do, every motion they propose [strengthens] the hands of those who otherwise must fall from [their] imbecility and total want of influence—next to a Kingsman——¹ mobsman and in truth have no respect but for Landsmen—The talk of the hour is the probability of a new Parliament and of the violent canvassing in many places now going on in this expectation, but I can not believe in any such event—and I have no doubt but that everything will remain as it now is for at least another twelve months—Our gracious Regent has been very ill from paternal sorrow and a tight pair of stays—Medical advice and threats produced a sudden cure by the application of a pair of scissors—and since he goes *ventre à terre* he has got well—*Celui qui console*. Old Time has already relieved his other subject of ailment—so you need not suffer from any anxiety on this point. I must now quit you as my paper is full and I will not sign because you know who has written this long budget of gossip—that's all I want—Now write soon to tell me that you have shaken hands with me and bless you.

[ALTHORP.]

(43) *Prof. John Playfair to Russell.*

EDINBURGH, April 4, 1819.

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—I was glad once more to see your handwriting, tho' I had the morti-

¹ Illegible.

fication to find that there was nearly as much of it on the outside of the letter as on the inside. However, I took it as a mark of your health and of your remembrance, and in both respects made it extremely welcome. . . .

I was delighted to find you taking a part in a debate lately, and that the wit and argument at least were on your side, tho' the votes were on the opposite. 'Tis pity that there is no way of weighing votes, and that they are always taken by *tale* only. I wish they could do as in astronomy, where on summing up the result of a number of observations, the merit of each is appreciated in the first place, so that the ultimate estimation includes both number and weight. What a blessing if such a contrivance could be introduced into politicks! After all, however, things seem to wear a better aspect this session of Parliament than they have done for a long time. The turns of Government toward extravagance and despotism are both a little kept in check.

I have seen, with much pleasure, that the *Life of Lord Russell* is in the Press. It is a very noble subject, and I have no doubt that it is treated as it deserves; the *Chronicle* also announces your letter to Lord Holland. I congratulate you on what I hope is only a commencement of your literary career.

There is a subject likely to come before the House some of these days on which I would wish to interest you. It is the continuance of

the annual grant of money for completing the buildings of the College here, which you have seen in so disgraceful a situation. . . .

I am, my dear Lord John,

Yours, with most sincere esteem and affection,

JOHN PLAYFAIR.

(44) *Bedford to Russell.*

W. A., *Tuesday*, 12 o'clock.

[*July 1, 1819.*]

MY DEAR JOHN,—I have had a good deal of conversation with old Tierney at Cassiobury about you. I felt anxious to know in what way he thought you could be most useful in your senatorial capacity. I find with pleasure that he has a very high opinion of your *debating powers*, and says, if you will stick to one branch of Politicks, and not range over too desultory a Field, you may become eminently useful and conspicuous in the House of Commons. He says your Speech on the motion was very good, but our Friends were dismayed by the great numerical strength of the line of Battle in front of them, and became flat and dispirited, and consequently did not cheer you as they ought to have done.

The Line I should recommend for your selection could be that of Foreign Politicks, and at home Politicks bearing on Civil and religious Liberty—a pretty wide range.

I trust you will raise your Voice on Monday against the Attorney-General's odious Bill.

I am starting for Ely, and have got Miss Berry's MS. with me, *pour me delasser en route*. I think Mr. Allen's account of Lord Holland favourable. My best love to Lady H,

Ever your affec.

B.

I shall be back on Thursday.

I dine with the Prince Regent on Sunday—there's for you!

(45) *Tavistock to Russell.*

ARLINGTON STREET, July 18, 1819.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I observed in the newspapers some days ago that Moore¹ had been sent to prison for a Government debt. You will probably hear something about him at Bowood. Tell me if anything is doing or can be done for him. I am very poor, but having always felt the strongest admiration for his independent mind, I would willingly sacrifice something to be of service to him.

Yours affectionately,

T.

(46) *James Mackintosh¹ to Thomas Moore.*

August 19, 1819.

MY DEAR MOORE,—I wish I were writing to you on a merrier subject and that you were thinking of Residence at Edinburgh for the sake

¹ See note in Appendix.

of Literature and Society. If you should, however, be driven there by your undeserved misfortune you will find as many Admirers and Friends as I believe you could find anywhere. When I was a boy I often used to address Edinburgh *sit meæ sedes utinam senectæ*. If you seek Refuge there I should feel my youthful wishes revived with new strength.

I have written (without any mention of names or circumstance) to obtain that certain knowledge to which I cannot pretend of the extent of the immunities of Holyrood house. I hope I may have an answer in two or three days. I should be glad to have a short narrative of the legal proceedings down to the present moment, with instructions as to how much I might communicate confidentially to a Person in high authority if he shall desire information previously to giving his opinion about the subject of our solicitude. Let me hear from you as soon as convenient.

Ever most sincerely yours

MACKINTOSH.

(47) *Samuel Rogers* ¹ *to Russell*.

August 31, 1819.

I can truly say that if I was to look up and down the world I could not find a companion more to my mind than yourself; and if I don't go I shall feel a great regret—but I shall have

¹ See note in Appendix.

one consolation that as far as Paris I shall lose but half of you—I may say a tenth for you and Moore will I am sure be almost always the principal ornaments of my foreground in the dickey box. To release you altogether—for why should I make you the victim of my uncertainties?—I will therefore say that *I shall not go*—reserving to myself however the full right and privilege of following you in my chaise and of sharing yours or receiving you into mine whenever you are inclined to do me that favour. What makes me hesitate now, I need not trouble you with, but it is no trifling matter. I can assure you, however, that if I do decide against it I shall give you up with the greatest reluctance. You say nothing of the infirmary at Ampthill. I conclude therefore well of it.

Yours ever

SAMUEL ROGERS.

(48) *Countess Spencer (mother of Lord Althorp)*
to Russell.

1819.

As I read your book [the Life of Lord Russell] I return grateful and cordial thanks to God that He has bestowed on its author every qualification so peculiarly called for by our country just now,—venerable rank, joined to the strictest virtue, brightest talents, and highest principle. . . . I know not which I most do, admire you as a public man, or love you as a private one.

(49) *Russell to Moore.**September 1, 1819.*

Rogers, as you know, declines going. I hope you have not been persuaded by Allen that Holyrood House with a view of Arthur's seat is better than Paris with a range of all Europe. . . .

(50) *General C. R. Fox to Russell.**GENOA, September 10, 1819.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I was very sorry not to see you before I left England and hope you will forgive my pestering you with a letter, but as I have just finished your admirable book,¹ I cannot deprive myself of the pleasure of assuring you how much I admire and like it. It has made me a far better being than I ever was before, because I am so used to hear such ultra-Whiggish sentiments that I had almost forgotten the rational and true principles of that Party. Your character of Lord Halifax seems to me perfect and only to be excelled by your exposition of Whiggish principles. I must own that part of your book that pleases me most, however, is Lady Russell's affection and heroic conduct. Her letters are quite beautiful, and his manly yet feeling conduct quite affecting. I can conceive no good man reading your book without being indignant at the baseness of that age and boiling at the idea of such tyranny.

¹ "Life of William Lord Russell."

I hope, my dear John, you will not think me presuming in thus giving an opinion when perhaps my very slight knowledge of History ought to restrain me from doing so, but believe me I feel so much convinced that this work ought and will raise you in every body's opinion that I could not help giving my small tribute of praise and also gratitude, for its perusal has been my only comfort upon this detested journey.

The *Glasgow* is here and we are all waiting for Sir Thomas to proceed in her to Naples; we left Geneva two days after him, from whence he went round by Vevay. I crossed the line for the first time and really, the Mountain scenery is, I think, equal to the other, though the entrance into Italy is far less beautiful.

I have only been a day here and have seen but little of this pretty town. All the good company are I believe in the country. John is very well, and begs me to remember him to you kindly.

I trust I shall see you again in England soon, indeed nothing shall prevail upon me to stay away beyond a few months. If you should have nothing better to do I should be delighted to have a line from you and let me know what you think my dear Father does.

Believe me, dear John,

Ever yours affectionately,

C. R. Fox.

(51) *Sir James Mackintosh to Russell.*HOLLAND HOUSE, *October 14, 1819.*

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—Parliament is, you see, to meet on the 27th of next month, and you are more wanted than anybody, not only for general service, but because your reform must be immediately brought forward, if possible, as the act of the party, but at all events as the creed of all Whig reformers. This session will be confined to the Radicals. It is reported that we are to have no suspension of the Habeas Corpus, but the Sedition Meetings Bill revived with a new clause forbidding all persons to attend meetings at any other places but where they reside or have property; the imposition of the newspaper stamp on the weekly pamphlets, and a measure against drilling and training. My system is that we should:—I. Declare our real opinion of the danger of the country, which I think very great, and proclaim irreconcilable war against the Radicals. II. That we should of course call for inquiry on Manchester. III. That we should not very pertinaciously oppose ourselves to measures of precaution, which, if they have no other value, are Parliamentary declarations against the incendiaries, in which our concurrence (as far as possible) is the best pledge of our resolution to stand or fall with the Constitution. IV. That we should declare in the frankest and strongest manner for your reformatory measures, and that you should bring them

forward, if possible, before the adjournment. The early meeting of Parliament has put a stop to all further steps for county meetings, to which I own I was not from the beginning favourable. I believe I am less disposed to resist restrictive measures, and more anxious to declare for reform than many of our friends. My opinion with respect to both is fully as much influenced by other considerations, which will readily occur to you, as by their intrinsic value. If some of our most important friends should persevere in their repugnance to all Parliamentary amendment, though we must not separate from them, we may still pursue our own course on that subject. In that case, however, I must own that our determination may be attended with little benefit at present and much embarrassment in future. I wish to God you could come for two or three days to Mardocks before the meeting, that we might go through these matters. It would be a great favour if you would write to me as soon as you can. I send you a little packet of metaphysics from Lady Mackintosh. My zeal is somewhat cooled on these subjects, though the eagerness of a Scotch disputant happened to be unseasonably revived in the conversation about her ingenious paradox.

If Moore be with you, or within your reach, remind him of my constant regard.

Dear Lord John, ever yours most faithfully,
J. MACKINTOSH.

Do not delay coming. If you are not here

at the opening of the session it will be hard to keep your subject.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

In the open letter to Lord Holland by Lord John Russell in 1819 he wrote of England's policy: "It was supposed she was the friend of right, and the patron of the Liberal Constitution which has been the foundation of her own glory. Instead of this, she has been the follower and the tool of the great continental monarchs; assisting their spoliations, and confirming their destruction of free governments; violating promises solemnly given, and conditions offered in the plenitude of success; pursuing her course totally regardless of the cries and supplications of Europe. . . . In God's name, why did she interfere? . . . If she was not able to prevent those acts, she need not have soiled her fair fame by appearing to counterbalance them."

(52) *Russell to Moore.*

LONDON, *Tuesday, December 14, 1819.*

DEAR MOORE,—I received two days ago your letter directed to me at Genoa. What Ducane's correspondent meant by *non est inventus* I cannot say, as I staid till the 9th. I was very sorry not to have you with me on my journey, and I felt grievously the difference of the going and returning. Your books I have got, and your

notes on Sheridan I have given to Rees to take care of for you. I hope you think we Whigs have done as well by the Constitution as we could. But some of us have shown much alarm, particularly Lyttelton, and Morpeth. Plunket makes powerful and vigorous invectives against liberty and law.

I am going to-day to make a little motion for Reform. The violent will not care for it, and the other side will throw it out, and so my publick attendance will cease for the present. There can be little doubt that in a few years, unless there is a sudden change of publick opinion, the form of government will be almost entirely changed.

Pray stay abroad, but not at Paris, and write to me at 22, Queen St., Mayfair.

Yours truly,

J. R.

(53) *Russell to Moore.*

WOBURN, *January 3, 1820.*

DEAR MOORE,—I cannot thank you enough for your letter—it is one of the greatest satisfactions I have had for my motion. I wish you were here that we might talk about it.

I am sorry to hear you are so uncomfortable. I do not know who your Mrs. Popkins is, but the Miss Berrys are but cold comfort to a man not particularly addicted to blues. Last time I saw her she was in a tempest, the most frightful thing I ever saw, not excepting the bay of

Biscay. Nobody knows what will become of my motion, but I think something good will pass the Commons, and I fear be defeated in the H. of Lords. If you think it better to go to Holyrood House, why, should not you? it is as well, however, to wait 6 months longer. But it seems to me out of nature that the Merchants should hang out a flag of truce first, as it is not so bad to be kept out of one's money as out of one's country. I hope your epistles are to be soon forthcoming. I do not hear of Ld. Byron, who, Mr. Murray told me, was to be in England immediately.

The dinner bell is ringing, and I have only time to say that upon the whole not so much harm has been done in the late session as might have been expected. Another step towards despotism, to be sure, has been made, but the work goes on slowly, and I trust it will be some time before the Crown gets so good an alarm again. Our party has kept wonderfully together, and the minority of 150 (really 178) is consoling compared to Fox's party in 1795. Plunket and your Irish seem to have no feeling for our Constitution at all. They say P. is to come to the English bar, and be Chancellor.

Yours truly,

J. RUSSELL.

P.S.—I hope the expense of your journey does not put you in immediate want of money, but if it does, do not go to R.'s to borrow.

(54) *Sir James Mackintosh to Russell.*CHATSWORTH, *January 12, 1820.*

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—I have not yet received your speech, for which I am impatient. I quite agree with you about the divorce, and I think we have nothing to do but to see justice done, so that the individual may not be wronged, and that the example may be without danger. But it would still be very useful to know the sentiments of some individuals. Although it cannot be made a party question in form, yet, if a single person of importance among us were to espouse one side with great warmth, it might be a question very dangerous to the harmony of our party. I will frankly answer your question about the last short session. I retain my first opinion, that there was sufficient ground for some precautionary measures. I never feared the success of immediate revolt, farther than as it might affect the security of persons and property in a district for a very short time. The evil which I apprehended was the alienation of the working classes from the proprietors and the Constitution, and on this subject my apprehensions are not in the least abated. Some regulations of public meetings I thought likely to be in some degree useful, because these meetings are the occasions on which the fanaticism of disaffection is most effectually propagated. The exception of meetings within doors is so important a mitigation (not to be found in the Acts of '95 and '99)

that it may in time supply the means of defeating the whole restriction. I never consider the Whigs in the time of Anne and of George I. as having made any surrender of the principles of liberty by the temporary treason, the Riot Act, the Septennial Act, or even the suspension of the Habeas Corpus. The only questions, in my opinion, about these measures relate to the degree of the evil and the efficacy of the remedy.

The Drilling Act we are agreed about ; the Disarming Act (if divested of the power of nocturnal seizure) seemed to me, if not absolutely necessary, yet a fit concession to the fears of the peaceable inhabitants of great districts. The measures against the Press are of a different kind, for the Stamp one is divided between the enormity of the evil and the danger of the principle. I voted cordially against the Stamp and the Recognisance. As to the Libel Bill, I cannot help thinking my amendment would have placed the law on the right footing. However indiscreet my speech may have been, I am not convinced that I said anything not in itself just and true.

Whatever my private opinions were, I was prepared to sacrifice, and I did sacrifice, them to unanimity, and I will venture to say that no individual laboured harder to prevent disunion. I do not, however, wonder that I should be thought to have been wrong.

But I rather wonder that you should suppose that it was either easy or worth while to mislead

me by false statements of notorious facts. That is so far from being the case that I cannot even guess the sort of persons to whom you allude. My opinions, whether right or wrong, were formed in solitude, and my apprehensions were rather lessened than increased by conversation with others. I do not think that I conversed on the subject with any man who takes a part in politics out of our own circle, or with any of the connexions of such a man.

I am, my dear Lord John,

Most faithfully yours,

J. MACKINTOSH.

(55) *Ugo Foscolo*¹ to *Russell*.

26, BOND STREET, April 27, 1820.

MILORD,—Avant de vous presenter mes remerciements j'ai jugé de communiquer votre lettre aux Parguinotes, et le secour que vous avez bien voulu leur donner avec tant de générosité. Ils avaient souvent malgré leurs malheurs et leur *impérieuse* pauvreté externe de la renitence à solliciter et accepter de l'argent ;—mais cette raison n'existe plus aussitôt qu'ils savaient que le bienfait vient de vous, et que votre liberalité doit servir autant à réparer leur besoin imminent, que à me renbourser en partie de l'argent que j'ai avarée pour eux au delà de mes propres moyens. Au reste, Milord, vous pouvez être sur que leur

¹ Poet and Patriot. This letter has required much correction as regards spelling.

discrétion sera égale à leur reconnaissance, et que le secret demeurera entre nous, au moins que le temps qui cache et decouvre les secrets des hommes à son gré, ne le manifeste. Aussitôt que j'aurais appris de quelle manière rédiger leur *Petition*, et quelles sont les formalités à remplir et les expédients à prendre pour qu'ils s'adressent au Parlement sans violer les règles de la diplomatie, j'écrirai leur papier, et ils vous le présenteront eux-mêmes, et dans ce cas, Milord, j'ose vous prier d'accepter l'hommage qu'ils vous offriront de leur gratitude.

Agréez en attendant le mien, et je vous le dois autant et plus que les Pargiotes.

Je suis, Milord, votre dévoué reconnaissant serviteur,

U. FOSCOLO.

(56) *Russell to Moore.*

HOLLAND HOUSE, *August 26, 1820.*

(Postmark.)

DEAR MOORE,—I am very much obliged to you for your good word, for my letter, though it pleased the people, was much blamed by our big wigs who think our party ought to stand by, profess no principles, and hazard no opinions. In short, they are waiting to let ministers "drown themselves," an ill-judged policy. The first thing needful to an Opposition is to be "honest men who will tell the truth *coûte que coûte*."

Mackintosh showed me your verses addressed to me, . . . I do not know that I ever felt

so proud of any thing as of having been the occasion of such good poetry. You will be surprised after all this that I never wrote to thank you. . . . Do you know I published this year my Sketches? People have just found out the fact and I do not know if they will like them. *Tua culpa est.*

Yours,

J. R.

(57) *Russell to Moore* [*fragment*]

[1829?]

. . . will be a curiosity. Who knows but after all Peel may support Government; and although Tavistock and I be in opposition? I hope not, but these new gentry must do something for the people. They ought to repeal all the bad parts of the Ten Acts, and favour my small reform. Bringing Manchester and Birmingham into Parliament would be very popular. I hear L^d. Lansdowne and Tierney are mightily afraid of taking the Liberal line about Portugal. As for Tierney, he is just the contrary of what many think him; he is an honest man, but has no sagacity of judgment; L^d. L. I trust has both principle and good sense. I shall be at Holland House next week. Remember me to Mrs. Moore, and believe me, yours

J. R.

P.S.—My father heard from Wolryche yesterday. He says the state of Portugal is wretched. The late Ministry preserved all the abuses of the old Government—the constitutional party have

the majority of the richer classes, but the Serviles have the mob, and those activity. Unless our ministers take care, Lisbon will next year be the [?] of the holy allies, and Millemack [?] will laugh at Canning, not in a blustering speech, but in his sleeve.

I am going on with the memoirs of the affairs of Europe. The period is dull, but I hope my book will not be greatly so.

(58) *Charles Greville, senior, to Russell.*

Monday, December 12, 1820.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I have not been able to reply to your most agreeable and amusing letter, . . . having been subject to an attack of cholera morbus. . . . Dr. Lushington is going to marry a pretty rich Miss Carr of Hampstead, . . . but to marry professionally is to marry the Laundress. . . . A severe article by W. Scott is to appear upon the Queen in the next *Quarterly Review*; he was once her intimate associate, therefore it is wrong in him. Lord Byron's play is to be published and will be acted. . . . The ministers say they mean to make the Liturgy a vital question, to fall or stand upon. It seems doubtful whether those who want the Queen's restoration to it are strong enough in the Commons to effect their overthrow. . . .

Your invariably and affectionately.

Pray write again. Your letters are delightful. . . . Poor Kemble has sold his great dramatic collection to the Duke of Devonshire.

(59) *Russell to Moore.*

[Dec. 1820.]

DEAR MOORE,—I do not know if I ever told you (I never told any one else), that I lent some money to a French officer through M^{me}. de Souza.¹ She has sent it to-day, and 'as I am determined not to touch it, I hope you will employ it for the physicians and other debts of your countrymen. [This probably refers to the sad case of Dumoulin, of which Moore had told him.]

Yours,

J. R.

Do you go to-night? Pray dine with me to-morrow.

(60) *Russell to Moore.*LONDON, *Sunday.**January 7 and 8, 1821.*

DEAR MOORE,—I arrived here yesterday after being kept a day at Calais, the passage was good, only four hours, but we were near having an accident coming in.

If my two books arrive, pray give one to Lady Ranccliffe, and the other, I think, to Lady Adelaide, personally; tell Lady R. I regret very much not having staid at Paris a little longer;

¹ Madame de Souza was an authoress and well-known member of society in Paris. There are many allusions to her in Moore's *Diary*, vol. iii.

I hope to come back before the Grand Poem is finished.

8th. The country is [in] an excellent state, much depends, however, on to-day and Wednesday. To-day there is a Derbyshire loyal meeting, and on Wednesday a Shropshire loyal meeting. The Duke of Devonshire and Lord George are gone to oppose the first, and Bennett the second. They will have the hearts of the people with them ; these ultra loyal meetings have done more for us by exciting a spirit than all we could do besides. Campbell's Mag. is come out—it does not make much noise. Mackintosh is keeping back the *Edin. R.* for a paper on Reform ; he has been very unwell. Remember me kindly to Mrs. Moore and tell her she shall have the bound Essays. You never told me whether she liked Agatha or not—and I want to know.

We have a Bedfordshire meeting on Friday.

Yours truly.

(61) *Russell to Moore.*

LITTLE STANHOPE STREET, *February 1* (1821 ?).

. . . I would not, if I were you, stay another winter in Paris—better Holyrood and metaphysics than that. Our debate on Naples was famous, but *cedant togæ armis*—what is an eloquent speech against a million men with whiskers, tight waists, and long swords?

(62) *Russell to Moore.*

WOBURN, APRIL 16, 1821.

MY DEAR MOORE,—There is certainly not a very quick correspondence between us; and I think it more your fault than mine. I see Mr. Thomas Brown, however, has been corresponding with the public on the rascally conduct of the Neapolitans. . . . Fazakerly, who is a great friend of mine, tells me he has been delighted with meeting you at Paris. I fear you have got very dissipated, which you must not be, for loving routs and dinners and not rivers and woods is the way to be inglorious.

I have got a book coming out, of which I showed you a page or two. I fear it will be dull as it already bores me in the printing. Rogers is just come into the house. . . . I go to town to-morrow, not to vote for Lambton's motion, of which I fear you will not approve. . . . Till then adieu.

(63) *Russell to Moore.*

January 3, 1822.

DEAR MOORE,— . . . In the first place, I want much to caution you against entering into any paper engagement with L. B. [Lord Byron]. You have already touched the ground in selling his mem., which I think you perfectly right in doing. But many persons are alarmed at the

thoughts of seeing themselves abused, and say you are the person "to fire the blunderbuss." If you were to be in a partnership, of which Bysshe Shelley is to be one, in which blasphemy and licentiousness were recommended, you would get a worse class of enemies than you have hitherto met.¹

Pray come home soon then, and sit down as an English family man,—you will then work better at Egypt, and I will keep your secret as long as you like.

I am not going to Paris, but I shall do little here. I mean to nurse myself this year, and perhaps the following. Canning is I suppose to bury himself in India: he is a fool for his pains, but it is a fine moral on the value of character in this country.

I copy for you on the other side some verses I have re-written, pray criticize, or if you think them utterly bad say nothing about them. I am working at French history and have left the Captain quiet. If you could make a paper or two for the "Transactions" I would add 3 or 4 of mine, and publish. Remember me to Mrs. Moore, and believe me yours ever

J. R.

[Verses follow on Love and Friendship.]

¹ This expressed the general estimate of Shelley at that time; he had not yet redeemed his early errors and blasphemies, and calumnies had exaggerated them.

(64) *Bedford to Russell.*W. A., *Sunday* [1822].

MY DEAR JOHN,—I thank you very sincerely for your long and entertaining letter—I believe the longest I ever received from you. I admire Canning's "delicacy," and his motive for refusing the Government of India ; but is it actually true that he has refused? I am glad that you are going to Mackintosh's, because at such a moment a day or two with such a man cannot but be useful. I do not mind old Tierney—he was always a croaker, and he is now gone by for all useful political purposes. I do not recollect your having ever given an unfavourable opinion of Hume. I confess I am strongly prepossessed in his favour, and I think he will be an important card in the country, even without *grace*, which I should despair of his now obtaining ; but he has *character* in his favour, and that is of no small moment.

I will send your horse to St. Albans on Wednesday, tho' I cannot but think it is too long a ride for you to take—you are not strong, and should not risk too much fatigue. What is often said in jest I may say with truth : " Good folks are scarce," and we look to you to put your shoulder to the wheel and work hard in the next session to extricate us in some measure from the innumerable difficulties which surround us.

With regard to your Greeks, I willingly put myself in your hands, and give you *carte blanche*

to do what you please with them, tho' I fear an expression of our opinions in favour of the justice of their cause is all we can rationally hope to do for them. Will Lansdowne exert his great name and talents seriously in their favour, or will he content himself with taking the chair at a political meeting and subscribing his hundred pounds?

Will he boldly attack the Ionian system in his place in the House of Lords, and move for the recall of K. Tom? If I had talents of application and eloquence for the task I should be much tempted to do this.

What is Lord Byron's "Vision"? Is it to be published? Is it that to which Ldy. — alluded in her letter to you? She could not mean "Cain." There is much splendid poetry in this strange "mystery," but nothing very novel either in the poetry or the argument. Pray tell Ld. — should the hounds (now Tavistock's) hunt at Ampthill Park on Thursday, if he will come down I will mount him. Ladyship and child are going on well.

Ever your affectionate Father,

B.

(65) *Russell to Moore.*

ARLINGTON STREET, *February 26, 1822.*

DEAR MOORE,—I owe you two letters, which shews as much as anything else the extreme tardiness of my correspondence—you being but a slow writer in the way of amicable prose.

I should have hoped you could have no doubt that I should be most happy to forward your letters—the responsibility I bear with pleasure, and the trouble is nothing. I received and sent one yesterday.

I am glad to find you are going to publish something. It seemed as if the Court of Admiralty had confiscated your genius as well as your property. There is a great opening just now for poetical works of merit. Lord Byron sinks lower in the mire every step he takes, and most people make it a rule not to read his “Cain”—foolish people! As if it were half so dangerous as “Childe Harold” and “The Giaour.” You see Lady Noel is dead at last. It would be wise in him if he could afford it to leave off writing for some time, or he will fall into universal neglect. I do not think quite so highly of “Cain” as you do, but it contains fine passages. The subject is too metaphysical. It has not much succeeded anywhere.

“Italy” is not at all read, except by the particular friends of the author, who all abuse it. Sharpe stands up for some parts of it, but others call it prose versified. Whitman has produced another pompous, turgid, cold drama with fine lines, however. The author’s title, Professor of Poetry, on the title-page suits very well with the inside. I have thus given you the state of the poetical market, where, to use the language of Mark Lane, “the supply is abundant, but the trade heavy, and there are few fine samples.”

I do not wonder you were alarmed at the attack on me. It was deserv'd, however, as I attack'd first. I believe I was quite in the right, but I opened my fingers too wide, and let out too many truths at once.

We are beaten in Parliament, but I hope to make something of Reform by and bye. Meetings for it are to be held in most counties, but after all the country is flat and poor and dispirited, the country gentlemen base and servile, and these ministers have really established themselves in such a way that it will require King and country to unite very strongly to turn them out.

Remember me kindly to Mrs. Moore. Let me know when you return, and where you mean to live. Pray work as well as play.

Yours,

JOSEPH JERKIN.

(66) *Russell to Moore.*

18, ARLINGTON STREET, *March 8, 1822.*

DEAR MOORE,—My father's money and mine for Grattan's medal is ready, and I will ask Lord Holland for his. I should like to know how to send it. If Fred Lamb goes soon I will send it by him—if not tell me another way. I spoke to Mackintosh about the inscription and he is thinking—have you your ten subscribers? My father has given £100 to Grattan's monument at Dublin.

Here we are beat at the game of politicks—I wrote you a long letter lately—so this shall be short. Canning seems quite fallen—they still say he is to go to India. You have probably heard Lord Cawdor's saying that we have had a Sheffield Duke of Buckingham and have now a Birmingham one.

Yours ever,

RALPH.

(67) *Countess Spencer to Russell.*

April 27, 1822.

How are you, my dear Lord John? I dared not yesterday intrude on your repose, but to-day I can no longer resist my anxious inquiries. To tell you my warm and cordial delight at your well-deserved and complete success is quite out of the question, for I cannot express it. To hear from every mouth, as I do, that however highly your talents and powers were thought of before, they are now estimated by universal concurrence as they have always been rated by us who have had the happiness of intimate intercourse with you, is a pleasure too bright to describe. But I do enjoy it from my inmost heart. Tell me you are well, and I shall have nothing to wish for about you.

Ever affectionately yours,

LAVINIA SPENCER.

(68) *Lady Holland to Russell.*

1822 [?].

[After a long gossipy letter:] Agar¹ says it is useless to deny he knows you who [*sic*] the Author of the "Nun of Arrouca." I read it as Southey's and thought it a beautiful tale. You must have heard me praise it highly. Did you write it?

(69) *William Russell to Russell.*

FLORENCE, June 22, 1822.

MY DEAR JOHN,— . . . So you are turned Radical—excellent, as Lady T. would say. I see by the Papers that nothing but bad health prevented your being President of a radical dinner, at which they gave as a toast L^d. T. and L^d. J. R. and the Reformers of Beds and Hunts (they leave me out as a lost man), but here is a union!! here is a coalition!! I thought Bennett and Castlereagh were more likely to come together than you and the radicals. I confess I have been much amused by it, although I ought to complain, for after converting me you have left me in the lurch; however, never mind, I will follow you. Whatever you propose, I will vote for, I will be radical again too, rather than have no reform, but I don't think you will now ever do *any good*, with the old jog trot plan you would have done a *little good*; if you

¹ Agar Ellis.

print your speech, which I presume you will do, I think it will be at variance with your article on reform. L^d. W^m. [Seymour] (who is no reformer) and I (who am but a poor one, thanks to you) have had much laughing at your expense; your coalition will never do, oil and vinegar would sooner mix together than a radical and a moderate reformer.

Bessy¹ is tolerably well, tho' the heat is too violent for her; the little boy does not much care about it, he grows up a very nice little fellow, and I hope when you see him you will like him as well as you did. What do the Hollands do this Summer? What are the Seymours about? ask her if she ever got some flower seeds from me—do the Tavys think of going abroad?—in short tell me some news—I can send you none from hence for there is none. You know what a monotonous life one leads—every evening to the Cascine, and then to Bottojone to ask each other if we have been there. By the way, I went to see the illumination at Pisa, which was the most beautiful thing of the sort I ever saw in my life. L^d. W^m. [Seymour] has begun his wanderings again—I never saw a man so *desœuvré* and consequently so wretched.

Most affectionately yours,

ANTONY ANTIRADICAL.

If you publish any new work this year send it out to me.

¹ Bessy was his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel Rawdon.

(70) *Russell to Moore.*

ENDSLEIGH, July 14, 1822.

MY DEAR MOORE,—I was a long time idle in replying to you and latterly have been overset by the misfortune of my father's illness; he has had a very dangerous attack arising from blood in the head, and it was for some days necessary to bleed him every day—of course the recovery is slow and anxious, and though he is now doing well there is nothing more apt to return suddenly than this complaint—this makes me uneasy tho' I see him every day better—he has borne the attack with wonderful fortitude, and Woolriche^{*} says he never saw a person whose mind was so little affected by such an illness. He now goes out a little during the day. We read to him O'Meara's book in which he takes great delight, as indeed it is most amusing and interesting.

The pun has made no sensation—people are now beginning to suspect it to be mine, and Lady H^d. writes to make enquiries.

I have received no letters from your mother for some time; when going abroad I agreed with Tavistock that he was to frank them—my plans are now uncertain, but you may send them to him if you have no better conveyance till I am sure of remaining.

I hope you are working to some purpose at Passy. Pray remember me kindly to Mrs.

^{*} The physician.

Moore, and say that in future I will take her advice about a catastrophe.

Yours ever.

(71) *Mr. Edwards to Russell on Grampound.*

TRURO, *October* 18, 1822.

MY LORD,—I have the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 9th inst., and am happy to have it in my power to repeat to your Lordship that a very considerable improvement has taken place in Grampound since the Electors have been deprived of their franchises. Upon these franchises most of them depended for their daily bread, neglecting their occupations and indulging themselves in every low vice. Now, with the exception of one profligate alderman, they have become generally industrious and well-behaved and so improved in their appearance as scarcely to be recognised as the same persons.

A great improvement is so visible also in the town itself that several travellers have remarked it to me and attributed it to the right cause. . . . If any further evidence were wanting, I have the authority of a clerical alderman, who, after expressing to me his sorrow at the disfranchisement, on account of a son, or two, just entering into life, had yet the candour to acknowledge that the condition of the Borough had improved, and must go on improving.

The dreadful effects of these franchises are *most* felt periodically. For a month or two

before an expected election, and two or three months *after* every election, there was scarcely a sober man in the town. . . .

Your Lordship's etc.,

JOHN EDWARDS.

(72) *Bedford to Russell.*

November 26, 1822.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I have read Lord Byron's "Werner," and am not much *émerveillé* with it; in fact it is, to borrow Lord Ellenborough's words with regard to Wellesley and his despatches, "the common book of a common man. . . ." What has become of "Heaven and Earth"? I hope you will send me "Don Carlos" and "The Constitution" as soon as they are out. . . .

Ever your affectionate father,

B.

(73) *Ugo Foscolo to Russell.*

January 17, 1823.

[The following letter from Ugo Foscolo to Russell has required much correction; the French of the original is exceedingly bad.]

MILORD,—Si votre proposition ne vous est suggérée que par votre bienveillance généreuse envers moi, vous entrez, Milord, dans une dépense pour moi, dont je serais obligé dans le cas

que d'autres occupations vous empêcheraient d'achever et publier votre ouvrage. Mais si c'est réellement pour votre ouvrage et pour votre usage que vous désirez l'histoire littéraire de l'époque entre la mort de Boccace et le Pontificat de Leon X, je m'en occuperai avec d'autant plus de plaisir que en jouissant de votre libéralité je jouirais en même temps de la certitude de vous avoir été de quelque utilité. J'ai conçu depuis longtemps (en écrivant des articles sur la littérature d'Italie) un ouvrage avec le titre " Histoire de la Poésie Italienne " dans laquelle j'avais,—et j'ai encore—l'intention d'examiner l'influence que la Politique exerce sur les lettres et les lettres sur la politique; et je voulais aussi en fait de critique comparer la Poésie italienne des différentes époques avec la poésie des anciens, et des nations modernes. J'en ai même écrit un plan, et par un feuillet que je détache de mon *brouillon* vous verrez que j'en avais même distribué les époques. D'après cette distribution, l'époque dont vous me parler contiendrait la *Troisième* et la *Quatrième* des époques de mon plan; et de la *Troisième* je me suis occupé il y a cinq ou six mois,—à fin de préparer un article sur les *illustrations* que Mr. Roscoe vient de publier en défense de ses ouvrages " Historiques sur les Medici." Mais plus je m'en occupais, et plus je me vois forcé de *confuter* Mr. Roscoe,—qui m'ayant écrit ici, et ensuite envoyé les feuilles de son livre avant la pub-

lication s'attendait d'être traité en Ami. Aussi la répugnance d'écrire contre mes sentiments en littérature et en politique, et ensuite d'autres milles soins, *me hanno sconsortato*—ni le livre d'ailleurs mérite une sérieuse *Revue*, Tiraboschi, pour ses opinions en politique et en critique, et son aveugle quoique élégant cofitte Linguère méritant d'être sérieusement refutés, et l'époque que vous m'indiquez a été la source de toutes les dernières pedantesques, et a donné l'exemple de toutes les tyrannies que les gouvernements d'Italie ont exercé jusqu' à mes jours sur l'esprit, la plume et les mœurs des hommes de Lettres. En réunissant la *troisième* et la *quatrième* de mes époques dans une Société j'ignore si elle pourra être suffisamment détaillée en 60 pages ; mais en tout cas il ne sera pas difficile de retrancher le surplus soit des détails dans la narration, soit des mots dans le style. Je voudrais connaître à peu près le temps dans lequel vous désirer 'avoir le Manuscrit ; car je mesurerai mon travail de manière à vous le faire parvenir à l'époque indiquée. Pour la Traduction nous nous arrangerons,—car en tout cas je crois que l'appendix que je dois fournir plaira au public et au libraire plutôt en *anglais*, qu'en aucune langue étrangère—et d'après l'expérience souvent répété sans succès, je préfère de faire traduire mon mauvais français—car, en *italien* je donne la *forme* avec la *matière*, et la *forme* se refuse à toute traduction ;—mais en *français* je ne donne que la *matière* et si le traducteur possède bien

sa langue et l'art d'écrire il peut y ajouter la *forme* de manière à donner à sa traduction la fraîcheur et l'énergie de l'originalité ; et les infidélités qui sont inséparables de cette manière *libre de traduire* ne sont pas à craindre, puisqu'en revoyant la traduction moi-même je rectifie tous les passages dans lesquels la liberté a dégénéré en licence. Au reste si vous le préférez je vous donnerai le manuscrit à imprimer en italien. Pour le prix, Milord, que vous avez la générosité de m'offrir, il n'aurait aucun appas pour moi en d'autres circonstances ; c'est un grand plaisir que d'être reconnaissant à des hommes tels que vous ;—mais mon plus grand plaisir est d'avoir l'occasion de voir dans un livre mon nom près du votre, et de pouvoir dire que j'ai travaillé pour vous et avec vous ;—et quand même je serais aussi riche que le Duc de Bedford, je me ferais une gloire d'être compagnon d'étude de son fils,—aussi je n'accepte votre offre comme paiement, mais comme une assistance à un être dans le malheur.

“Sed tua me virtus tamen et spectata voluptas
Suavis amicitiae quemvis perferre laborem
Suadet, et inducit noctes vigilare serenas.”

Ainsi, Milord, en attendant vos directions, je commencerai à recueillir des matériaux à ajouter à ceux que le livre de Roscoe m'a fait déjà préparer. Quant au *métier d'enseigner*—*I have already made up my mind* ; j'ai longtemps pesé *To be or Not to be*, et pour me déterminer, j'ai

examiné mes facultés intellectuelles ;—je les ai trouvé affligées et engourdies dessous les malheurs comme sont les plantes de mon jardin aujourd'hui dessous la neige ;—et j'ai aussi vu qu'au premier soleil du printemps mes facultés recouvriraient leur vigueur ; aussi je me suis décidé pour le *To be*. Mais pour me délivrer des malheurs, il ne faut plus que j'espere dans des travaux et des expédients précaires ; et le *métier d'enseigner* peut seul produire une vente sûre et qui s'augmente avec le temps,—et qui seule me donnera les moyens d'abord de payer mes dettes pour vivre en homme de bien ; et ensuite d'avoir de quoi vivre pour étudier et écrire en homme indépendant,—car le Génie semblable à l'amour, lorsqu' on doit le vendre cesse d'être Génie. J'avoue la faiblesse d'avoir été souvent effrayé de honte a l'idée de faire le Maître de Langue ; mais des que j'eue la force de prendre cette résolution ce serait maintenant non seulement une faiblesse, mais une lâcheté, d'en revenir.

Mais j'ai trop jaser, Milord ;—Maintenant il ne me reste que d'attendre vos ordres. Daignez me croire votre serviteur reconnaissant.

UGO FOSCOLO.

(74) *Russell to Moore.*

MIDDLETON, *January 2, 1823.*

MY DEAR MOORE,—I have been delighted with your poem,¹ and have too long delayed telling

¹ "Loves of the Angels."

you. Fairly speaking I like the second angel the best, and think the third a falling off ; the verses are beautiful and full of imagination. I like particularly "God's most disturbing mystery!"

I am glad to find my opinion agrees with that of all the people here ; Lady Jersey, Luttrell, and Agar Ellis admire the lines exceedingly, and I hear Lady Cowper does too, saying she is glad to hear she may read it.

I am doing nothing—least of all verse. I am told it is not my vocation, and that I have written too much.

What are you doing? Going on with something, I hope.

Remember me to Mrs. Moore, and also to Tom. My four editions are a bookseller's humbug.

Heaven and Earth, I hear, will do you no harm. What a pity Lord Byron is allied with Leigh Hunt. Why do not you write to him to come home?

Yours ever,

J. R.

(75) *Russell to Moore.*

WOBURN ABBEY, 1823 [?].

DEAR MOORE,—I send you a note from Lord Jersey—pray accept the invitation if you can.

I have been thinking of a scheme for you that will not occupy you many days and may return good profit—it is to write "The Fudge

Family"¹ at Verona—all the materials are to be found in the *Morning Herald*. I saw in one wise newspaper that the Duke of Wellington had led up Maria Louisa to a concert at her own house, from which it was concluded that England and Austria were about to enter into closer alliance!

Yours truly,

J. RUSSELL.

(76) *Russell to Moore.*

LONDON, *July 4, 1823.*

MY DEAR MOORE,—I fear I must give up our journey to Ireland, from which I anticipated much pleasure. With my father and Tavistock both ill, and my brother William just come home, I do not like to go away. . . . I assure you I do it with great regret, as you are by far the most agreeable travelling companion I ever met. I wish I could think that we might hope to see Ireland together another year, but I suppose your projects are now fixed. Remember me kindly to Mrs. Moore.

Yours most truly,

J. RUSSELL.

(77) *Russell to Moore.*

W. A., *January 24, 1824.*

DEAR MOORE,—I feel irresistibly impelled by all the ties of sacred friendship to write you a

¹ "The Fudge Family" was written by Moore after a visit to Paris with Rogers in 1817.

few lines to tell you I am safe again in old England. And besides I have to send you a translation of your verses to me into French rhyme by a Spaniard, which, if not a matter of pleasure, is at least a rarity, and as the Mayor of Bedford said to me, speaking of *horses*, quite a *rara avis*.

I saw Villamil and dined with him; he and his wife were, as usual, full of kindness and hospitality, but he has got a nasty kind of gout which he cures by bleeding, and it comes again like Banquo's ghost. Poor Spain is quite monk-ridden, and every man of sense whose throat is not cut is leaving it as fast as possible—your fables, I fear, have not cured the Holy Alliance, who are the veriest curse after the plague that ever afflicted mankind.

Shall you be coming to town? How is Captain Rock? I shall be in the House of Commons the first day, but we are likely to have a blank session. I saw our leading Whigs in town. Tierney is at freezing point, Mackintosh rather below temperate; Lord Holland and Brougham alone are at blood heat.

You will have heard that Tavistock is doing well—thank God his amendment continues—my father is much the same.

Yours ever,

J. R.

Remember me to Mrs. Moore and the children, including Minimus.

(78) *Russell to Moore.*

April 1, 1824.

DEAR MOORE,—Success! Success! Your Captain is bought by all the town, extravagantly praised by Lady Holland, deeply studied by my lord, and has given all the Orangemen the jaundice with spleen and envy. Sir Abraham Bradley King, I hear, is to answer it, and Lethbridge means to complain of it as an evident work of the Jesuits and the Devil.

Now considering that you desired to look at my speech *instantly* for fear you should forget all about it, it is very generous of me to let you know all this. Pray come back early in May and tell Mrs. Moore we cannot allow her to have the famous Captain Rock all to herself.

Yours ever,

J. RUSSELL.

(79) *W. Bowles¹ to Moore.*

BREMILL, 9th, [?] 1825.

MY DEAR MOORE,—I ordered your book² to be sent the moment it came out, and devoted all yesterday to it.

You know, I never compromise my opinion to living man, but I can most truly and warmly say, that any book more sensible, interesting, and affecting I never read—and I above all things congratulate you on the dignified and

¹ The Rev. W. Bowles, the poet. See note in Appendix.

² Moore's "Life of Sheridan."

gentlemanly tone in which you have spoken in the Political parts.

Every one will think and say the same—the only fault I find is here and there, in the *style*. In general it is pure and impressive, but some images and expressions, if I had been consulted, I should have treated as you did my old Woman. The most objectionable is about

“One lost in certainty and one in joy”—

Prior's line, I believe, but the whole sentence I object to *toto cælo*.

[W. BOWLES.]

(80) *Russell to Moore.*

Tuesday, October, 1825.

MY DEAR MOORE,—I shall put off my journey to Paris till Spring, and I think you may as well do so too.

We were talking last night of what you say of S.'s funeral. Lady Jersey said Lord Jersey refused to go, and that most of those who did attend, if they had not enquired after Sheridan's wants in his last illness, had at one time or other contributed largely to his support. That this was true of many I have little doubt; it is to be considered likewise, that Sheridan had such frequent relapses of debt, distress, illness, disgrace, &c., that at last people got tired of him and forgot his genius in his want of principle and character.

Pray put off your journey. I have no spirits at present to assist in a squib.

Yours ever,

J. R.

(81) *Russell to Moore.*

BROOKS'S, *October 7, 1825.*

DEAR MOORE,—I have read some of your Sheridan, besides scraps in the *Times*, and think it very good in every way. The style is very much what it ought to be, and the matter so interesting that it will be read for ever and ever.

As to the faults, which of course no book or man is without, I suspect that like most biographers, you are partial to your subject. What you say of 1811 leads me to suppose this—the partiality in these parts serves to make appear more black the conduct of his *friends* when he was dying. I agree with you, however, that their conduct was inexcusable. They ought to have supported him, and not attended his funeral.

Now as to Paris, I feel much inclined to go: how do you feel? If I go, it will be about the 20th. An answer is requested.

Remember me kindly to Mrs. Moore, and the young John Russell, a designation which suits me no longer.

Yours ever,

J. R.

(82) *Russell to Moore.**October 11, 1825.*

MY DEAR MOORE,—I hardly think I shall go to Paris. My bones and my eyes and my mind are all tired of travelling, and I want a little rest—it is very doubtful at all events.

When I last wrote, I hardly knew your book at all. I have now got through a good deal more than half, and I must own I am quite astonished at the extent of your knowledge, the soundness of your political views and the skill with which you contrive to keep clear of —¹ when the subject seems to invite it. Your fancy and wit we all knew before, and the former quality is perhaps as usual rather in excess, but it is so beautiful one would not wish it alter'd in anything.

As a pupil of Rogers I have been looking for small defects, but unlike him have not mark'd them down. I actually detected a comma, however, out of its place, but where that place is I forget—there are some things a shade more important; for instance, misled by the word point, you contrast the glitter of the point to the edge of the blade. It is not the point but the blade which glitters in flourishing a sword.

Dudley North told me the joke of vo-luminous as his own.²

¹ Illegible.

² The story, as I have heard Lord John Russell tell it, was that a Member of Parliament alluded to a previous speaker having referred to the "luminous pages of Gibbon." "I said voluminous" interjected the speaker.—EDITOR.

I dined at Wimbledon yesterday, where all the Spensers sang in chorus in praise of your book.

Your political opinions I think very sound, tho' perhaps here and there more facts would alter both your view and mine.

They say Lord Amhurst is recalled, but that Buckingham is not to succeed him.

Yours ever,

J. RUSSELL.

Thanks for your mention of me. You bring me in head and shoulders—so does Cobbett, but you do it to cram me with sweetmeats, Cobbett to cover me with mud.

P.S.—I have just got your letter, and it makes me very much inclined to go. I shall see my father to-day, and then write again.

(83) *Russell to Moore.*

W. A., *October 16, 1825.*

MY DEAR MOORE,—Your letter came to me here, and there being no post yesterday, your note to Mr. Power will not go till to-day.

I must trouble you again about my father's share in your anathema, as I have since been speaking to him, and I think he at least comes clear out of the fire. I have ascertained three facts. 1st. That he had sent £200 to Sheridan a short time before his illness. 2nd. That he called more than once during his illness, but

was told that Sheridan was too ill to see any one. You know the person who answer'd the door might be a stranger or a bailiff, so that no list of names, as in a porter's hall, was kept. I can vouch for having enquired myself at the door, but probably no one heard of it. If Sheridan had then sent to him for money no doubt he would have got it. 3rd. After S.'s death when my father was at Woburn he got a letter from Mrs. S. asking him to go to the funeral, a proof she did not think he had behaved ill, and no doubt would have felt hurt at the supposition, for she ask'd Lord Holland who was also at Woburn but did not ask others whom she did not reckon his friends (*e.g.*, Lord Grey, who was at Woburn likewise)—to go up to a funeral is no satisfaction to my father or Lord H., they did it thinking it right.

As for Tom Sheridan, my father had no correspondence with Sheridan about him, but he gave him one of the most profitable places he had (joint Master), which was much blamed as Tom did not reside.

I suspect your good and honest feelings on this subject have been somewhat influenced by Rogers . . .

Never mind this, however. The book is a capital book and for beauty of illustration nowhere surpassed. Among the passages which particularly pleased me perhaps the comparison of Burke's conversation to a Roman triumph delighted me most.

What keeps me from Paris is a surfeit of travelling, and the knowledge how cold it will be coming back. But this does not seem to stop you—

“hyberno motivis sedere elapsum,
Et mediis properas Aquilinibus ire per altum.”

You will hear more criticism by word of mouth there, however, than all the reviews and my epistolary attacks could ever amount to.

I wish you well through it. My father goes through Paris the end of the month.

Yours ever,

J. R.

(84) *Russell to Moore.*

October 17, 1825.

DEAR MOORE,—One word more as to what I wrote to you about yesterday.

Talking to Woolriche this moment on the subject, he expressed his regret that you inserted the remark about the funeral.

He says what I did not know, that my father was applied to by Sheridan for a loan of £200 a little before his last illness (no doubt having contributed often before), that he answered he did not like to *lend* money, but that he could not have £200 at his banker's, while Sheridan was in want, and sent a cheque which Sheridan used, but never acknowledged. At the funeral,

he attended at the express request of Mrs. Sheridan, and to gratify her feelings.

Do not mention him, no doubt this is the history of *many*.

Goodbye,

Yours,

J. R.

(85) *Russell to Moore.*

October 29, 1825?

MY DEAR MOORE,—I am very much obliged to you for your letter and your advice. . . . The blunders you point out are glaring; they would fare the better for the excuse of political affairs. After all the writing is very old, with the exception of some thirty pages which you have not seen.

So I shall stay my hand for the present, but think it not unlikely that the day may soon come when I can give up politicks for other occupations.

What say you to Limerick? Love to Mrs. Moore.

Yours truly,

J. R.

(86) *Russell to Moore.*

December 25, 1825.

MY DEAR MOORE,—. . . My father so much wishes me to go to Paris, where he remains all

the winter, that I shall set out about the 5th or 6th, to stay three weeks.

I hear your life of Sheridan has made you many enemies. The subject made this inevitable. You must console yourself with the applause of the public.

There is much I wish had been omitted on many accounts. Pray do not publish a life of Lord Byron without shewing it to friends.

Yours ever,
J. R.

(87) *Russell to Moore.*

SOUTH AUDLEY STREET, *February 23, 1826.*

DEAR MOORE,—I am very sorry to hear that you are not so well off in the world as you ought to be. Pray, if you are to write, write poetry; it will not do to undertake the life of a second reprobate. Or if you could find some good subject in prose, write prose; write anything, in short, but Byron's life.

I am grieved to think there is not a chance of seeing you here. But your first affair should be to make a sum sufficient to secure your mother the pension which you refused from the Government. However, you need not be under any fear for your powers. Walter Scott is beginning at 58 to write works to repay his friends £50,000 which they have advanced to satisfy his creditors. His whole debt is £110,000 and his assets £60,000; he has

written a very good letter to Mackintosh on the subject. Mack looks very unwell, but is getting better, though he cannot attend the House of Commons.

New misfortunes occur in the City every day. I fear the summer may resemble that of 1819,—and then for the Six Acts again ;—it is woeful.

I dine with Rogers to-day to meet Shenney. My book comes out Tuesday. We minor authors creep slowly to a second edition, while you go hop, skip, and a jump to fame. Brougham is not so brilliant as usual, very moderate and conciliatory. But a man who pounces and claws like an eagle cannot coo like a dove.

If I can be of any use in transacting any business for you, or giving advice gratis, you may depend on the utmost secrecy and discretion, as the quack doctors say.

Yours ever,

J. R.

Much things to Mrs. Moore and my godson.

(88) *Russell to Moore.*

April 17, 1826.

MY DEAR MOORE,—I am very glad you are coming to town as you will then have an opportunity of talking to others of your friends besides me respecting your life of Lord Byron. My opinion is that if you do write it you should make a short memoir like one of Johnson's lives of the poets that might go along with his works

in the booksellers' shops. Tierney says the truth is neither Sheridan nor Byron had anything remarkable in their lives—this is too much.

It seems to me that it would not be amiss to take some notice of the things brought against you by the *Westminster* and *Quarterly*—to shew that, after all, your account was according to the information you had, and not essentially erroneous. Perhaps, too, it would be of advantage to say something for yourself that might give spirit to your defenders, for the assailants have hitherto had it all their own way.

As for the money part of your prospects, I strongly advise poetry.

Why not finish your great poem? You are the only poet left in the field whom the public cares to read, and a good poem would please both Whigs, Tories, and Radicals.

My triumph in Hunts I fear is more cry than wool. But I own it is a great pleasure to have the people with me. I wish you could come to the election. The women are so eager on our side, it is quite a pleasure to see them. Canning is now very uneasily seated—sometimes he has two stools to sit upon, and sometimes not one—he is cross, and the Opposition on their legs again. Your verses in the *Times* are excellent but you must not give them too often.

Love to Mrs. Moore, if I may venture so far.

Yours ever,
J. R.

(89) *Holland to Russell.**June 27, 1826.*

DEAR JOHN,—It was very good in you to write and I am afraid by what I heard it was some exertion. I hope, however, the effects of the “Coup de Soleil” are over. Your battle in Hunts was really a noble one, and your speeches excellent. There is but one opinion on that point. . . . You do not, my dear John, mean to stay out of Parliament. You are one of the few who do good there, and it is in the session after a general election that you might do most good. . . . Believe me, truly yours,

VASSALL HOLLAND.

(90) *Russell to Moore.**WOBURN ABBEY, July 10, 1827.*

MY DEAR MOORE,—I likewise regretted very much that I did not see more of you, when in town. The next time you must come oftener to breakfast.

I am delighted to find you like my *Odyssey* after all ; you damped me much before you read it by saying that nobody cared for Homer nowadays, and Lord Holland more, by declaring against, after he had read it, for just the opposite reason ; because he likes Homer so much he thinks nobody can do him justice. All that I could get him to say was that if the *Odyssey*

was translated in a different metre from mine, and by a different person, it might do !

I suppose you will have Lord Lansdowne at Bowood in September. If Canning lasts, the Ministry will last.

Are you really guilty, or rather have you the merit of sending the "too bad" to the *Times*?

Yours ever,

J. R.

My best remembrance to Mrs. Moore, and my Godson, not, however, forgetting Tom. I rejoice in the success of the "Epicurean," which I hear much commended, still I think it would have been doubly beautiful in rhyme.

(91) *William Russell to Russell.*

ROME, October 21, 1826.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I am sorry for the cause of the Resolution you have thought it necessary to come to, but I know and acknowledge your Zeal, so I don't complain of you : it is as unwise as cruel to ride a Free Horse to Death, and I must only hope that you will join us full of vigour and spirit as early as possible in May and you must excuse my pressing the importance of it on your mind. One is always apt to think the present the most critical of all times, but I am very sure that good men were never *more* wanted than now. We are to struggle for Life or Death in the new Parliament, and one I am inclined to think very open to impressions, in an

age of speculation there is no saying what new speculations may not be set afloat ! There are not wanting numbers indisposed to the Ministry as it is now constituted, but there *is* wanting a right tone to the opposition—the House of Commons is what it always has been, and has been justly described like a Pack of Hounds, ready to follow the huntsman's call, and we have no one fit to lay them on the right scent. The opposition as it stands is a Body of most discordant materials, acting some from spirit of trading adventure, some from vulgar turbulence of temper, some from fashion or an amusement for fine ladies : it is at least worth an effort to bring them together and draw them to one Point.

I hold it of first-rate importance that not a moment should be unnecessarily lost in announcing your Reform Bill—I mean the great Plan—I don't meddle with the Revolution—is it requisite you should appear personally at your election ? if not, I think the writ ought to be moved immediately, and notice given for you, that the country may feel we are in earnest. The Zeal of a convert is always strong, and I am impatient to show myself in the colours of my new Faith.

I am a scrupulous Person—perhaps too much on titles—but I cannot help thinking that even on matters of Punctilio it is wrong to leave a Person in Mr. Ponsonby's situation long in possession of a seat he is never to fill. One Fitzwilliam too, whose publick spirit is above all

Praise, will be gratified by any, sign of empressement in you, and a manifestation that you are eager to be at your Post as soon as circumstances will allow, but I have said my say, and will not bore on it longer.

I am no great Believer of Reports in general, and less than in any, in those of Patrician Politicians, and I have not a scrap of faith in what you speak of—a Proposition of only, embarking with France on an invasion of Spain and Portugal—if it were possible I am not sure I should be very sorry!—the collision of opinions it would produce might give a more animating and clearer interest, and I really think more substantial Results than anything we are likely to be engaged in. The only news here is their having taken eight or ten of the conspiracy to murder the legate at Ravenna; they will lose their heads, but the Publick will not be tranquillized!—and they say the King of Naples is begging that no more Austrian troops may be withdrawn from Turin—in such case I hope and believe our Minister there will speak as he ought.

I shall be back in Florence by the middle of November, to remain till the same time in January. I wish very much I may see you there, for I expect a visit from poor Gertrude, for in all probability about the first fortnight of that time, leaving her family at Pisa. I am sure it would be a comfort to her to see or hear of you, for she asks much about you. Poor Dear Soul, the unmerited misery of her case is only to

be equalled by the magnanimity, with which she bears it.

Affectionately yours,

W. R.

(92) *William Russell to Russell.*

BRIGHTON, November 5, 1826.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I have received your letters but did not answer them sooner, from not knowing how to direct to you, and have waited until I thought you would be at Rome, but I am doubtful how to calculate, for a man who goes to Genoa to see a pretty woman is as likely to remain there as to go to Rome, and were I writing to anybody but you I should direct to Genoa and not to Rome. . . . You say you cannot think why people wish you to come home for Parliament and will not attend to you when there. You are too modest, but you are particularly wanted now to look after the rotten boroughs, they are under your special guard, and if you are in Parliament *without* watching them, you will be in great disgrace. Your only excuse will be "*not being in Parliament.*" Sudbury is a flagrant case, and John Wilks the member is in Newgate for forgery; he is Macqueen's dear friend who said he would stand for Bedford. If you had any ambition (which you have not), if you give up the charms of Genoa (which you cannot), if you could renounce the dinners and tea tables and gossip of Rome (which you cannot), if you could cease to care about attend-

ing Balls and assemblies and dangling after Ladies (which you cannot), there is a noble field of ambition and utility opened to a Statesman. It is Ireland, suffering, ill-used Ireland, the gratitude of millions, the applause of the world would attend the Man, who would rescue this poor Country, the place is open, and must soon be filled up. Ireland cannot remain as she is, the Ministers feel it, and would gladly listen to any man who would point out the way to relieve her. Undertake the task, it is one of great difficulty, but let that be your encouragement. See the Pope's Minister, have his opinion on the Catholics, go to Ireland, find out the causes of her suffering, make yourself Master of the subject. Set to work as you did about Reform, by curing small evils at first (how I regret that you ever joined the *general* reformers, you lost . . .¹ I am pointing to the way for you to make your name immortal by doing good to Millions and to your Country, but you will yawn over this, and go to some good dinner *to be agreeable* — the height of ambition with the present generation.

In Huntingdonshire they go on toasting you and saying you never will desert them. My father is here, the Hollands, Tierney, and Flahault, and Brighton may vie with Rome for givers and receivers of dinners. My love to Butts.

Affectionately yours,

G. W. R.

¹ MS. torn.

(93) *The Duke of Devonshire to Russell.*

LONDON, November 15, 1826.

MY DEAR LORD,—On my arrival here I find that my alternate nomination to the borough of Bandon is still at my disposal, and I have the greatest satisfaction in offering it to you. It may be necessary to name the member before your answer can have arrived, therefore I hope you will not be dissatisfied at finding yourself *elected*.

The recollection of our early acquaintance and my approbation of your public character add to the pleasure which I always feel in whatever connects me with your family.

Believe me, my dear Lord,

Most truly and faithfully yours,

DEVONSHIRE.

(94) *Sydney Smith to Russell.*

FOSTON, YORK, December 4, 1826.

DEAR JOHN,—I have read your book on the State of Europe since the Peace of Utrecht with much pleasure—sensible, liberal, spirited, philosophical, well-written. Go on writing history. Write a history of Louis XIV, and put the world right about that old Beast.

I am sorry you are not in Parliament. You ought to be everywhere where honest and bold men can do good.

Health and respect, ever yours,

SYDNEY SMITH.

(95) *Lafayette to Russell.*PARIS, *April* 18, 1827.

C'est avec un grand plaisir, mon cher Lord, que j'ai lu votre nom sur la liste des directeurs de la nouvelle Université de Londres ; le nom est en général du bon augur pour de tous ce qui [est] libéral ; il l'en d'une manière toute particulière quand c'est de vous qu'il s'agit. Vous jugez bien que je ne me donnerai pas les airs de vous indiquer des choix des professeurs ; je dois néanmoins à l'un des candidats, M. Frédéric de George, la justice de dire que dans des occasions propos à caractériser les âmes, j'ai trouvé en lui tous ce qui peut inspirer l'intérêt et attachement que je lui ai voués. Rappelle moi, je vous prie, au bon souvenir de votre excellent père, de Madame la Duchesse, de toute la famille, et recevez l'expression des sentiments de haute anime et cordiale amitié qui m'attacheraient à vous.

LAFAYETTE.

(96) *The Countess Spencer to Russell.*WESTFIELD, RYDE, *July* 19, 1827.

"Only one word, my dear Lord John, just to tell you that I feel most grateful to you for your letter—and that the moment you feel inclined to say *Open Sesame*, every door in this house will fly open to admit you, and Welcome, in its heartiest form, will greet you as you enter under our cottage roof.

If you will give me a line previous to your arrival, Lord Spencer will suit his aquatic excursion so as to tally with your voyage hither.

At length the Mountain has brought forth the Mouse, and an administration is announced in the *Gazette*—such as it is. It has been so long cobbling, and it is so very short of what it ought to have been, that altogether it is as flat and unprofitable and unpromising an event as can be conceived.

We have gained so little by the change of Government that it is not worth troubling one's head about it. I hear that Lord Anglesea's appointment to the Ld. Lieutcy. gives great dissatisfaction in Ireland, and this is only what might have been expected. In no one point of view does he supply what is wanting for so arduous a situation. And least of all does he redeem the pledge.

God bless you, my dear young friend,

Affectionately yours,

LAVINIA SPENCER.

(97) *Moore to Russell.*

August 3, 1827.

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—I shall pray for rain if it always produces such a nice crop under your pen as the last. It gave me great pleasure to find that you had not given up the *Memoirs of the Affairs*, etc., etc. These are the *gros*

morceaux for the table of posterity. By the bye, did you happen to see over a year ago, a little note in the *Edinburgh Review*, alluding to this work? Answer me this.

I hope the enclosed will catch Rogers before he moves off, like the sun, on his annual visit to the "celestial *Houses*." I have asked him to write down for me all he remembers about Lord Byron, and it would be the kindest thing of you, too, to ransack your memory, a little, and give me notes of what you recollect of the memories, but putting it out of your head that I remember anything of them, and telling all that occurs to you. This will be very, very kind of you. I would enlist Lady Holland too in the same service, if I might, and if you would but excite each other's memories for me (as people rub amber to make it catch) there is no knowing how much of the past you may draw back. Pray give her my very kindest regards. There is no one (little as it is my doom to see of her) from whom I carry home recollections of such *real* kindness as from her. Her inquiries after the wife and babes in the summer-house (I mean one of those little wooden things in which I sat with her the first day I called) have not been untold at Sloperton.

Ever, my dear Lord John, faithfully yours,
THOMAS MOORE.

(98) *Russell to Moore.*COWDRAY, *August 16, 1827.*

DEAR MOORE,—I cannot think about Lord Byron now; other thoughts occupy me like the rest of the world. The loss of Canning is one, of which we before spoke, but did not expect so soon. Altho' his death has not broken up the administration, its spirit I fear will be impaired, if not lost. He inspired foreign powers with respect, domestic Tories with hatred, and forced the latter into an opposition to power abhorrent to their nature. Now foreign powers will fear no longer, and outwit, if they do not bully us. The Tories instead of opposing Lord Goderich will court him. If he yields to their seduction he must break with us. If he does not feel eagerly for the Catholic question he will make himself a regular Tory Minister.

Yours faithfully,

J. RUSSELL.

(99) *Althorp to Russell.*WESTFIELD, *August 25, 1827.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—Tavistock I have always considered a man of excellent judgment and certainly quite sane, but I am grieved to find by your letter that he must be quite mad to think that I could be thought of as leader of the House of Commons. I send you back Holland's letter. I agree with every syllable he says

respecting me. I could, however, add many better arguments against Tavistock's proposition. With respect to the other part of your letter, I am quite sure there is no chance whatever that it will be offered to you or to any man of decided character to take a place in this administration. They must have men of a more pliant disposition who will give up all the great principles on which we have acted for the sake of doing what I admit to be a good, viz., the helping the Tories out. But if it was by any chance to be offered to you, I should certainly advise you or any other friend I have, not to take upon yourself the responsibility of a Cabinet Office, and every other one would of course be out of the question, unless the Catholic question is to be made a government measure. There are many other questions which ought to be stipulated for, but this appears to me to be quite a *sine qua non*. In giving you this advice I am doing it against the grain, for I should like to see such men as you in the Cabinet for the sake of the Country, but I think neither you nor I nor any other man who has taken any decided part in our politics can take office on any other condition consistently with their character. I think that we have no difficulty in the line we ought to take. There is no change in the principles of the administration and therefore this ought to have our conditional but very jealous support.

Yours most truly,

ALTHORP.

(100) *William Russell to Russell.*

ROSTREVOR, *August 25, 1827.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—Wherever I go I take in a local newspaper, to know the news of the country, its feelings and its fashions, its statistics and its scandal. The name of the *Northern Whig* caught my fancy, and I send you the number that came to me yesterday, partly because you will see how ably the Irish write and how boldly they talk of emancipation, and partly to recommend two articles to your notice: one is an Orange procession at Enniskillen, which is illegal, and which Wm. Lamb ought to put down by the strong arm of the law; and the other is a letter to Lord Castlereagh on the Constabulary force, called here Peelers after their great author. They are more like the French gendarmerie than anything else; they consist of horse and foot, clothed and armed like soldiers, and officered, and two or three are in every town and village. Certainly oppression may have driven the people to require such a force, but it is lamentable to think that any part of the British dominions should be governed in such a way. You should get Lord Lansdowne to look to these things, and stir up Wm. Lamb to do the same. This is a most curious country, a most strange people. Amongst other things, they are all quarrelling about religion. First comes the Established Church, who trouble themselves little about the

matter, and are satisfied with collecting tithes, eating and drinking at Orange dinners, and abusing the Catholics; but then there is a sort of Calvinistic sect in the Church, New-Light people, pretty preachers, very much in fashion, especially with the ladies. The High Churchmen have a great hatred to them, because they share the good things of the church with them, and are gaining great popularity; then they invite the Catholic priests to theological controversies, which the High Churchmen think it better to let alone, I have no doubt for good reasons. Then the Presbyterians are all squabbling, some being for the Catholics, some against them. Then come the Bible people, who make dreadful dissensions amongst the Catholics; then come the people who convert from Popery, torment the dying, and afterwards fight with the Catholics for the dead body. In short, we poor hapless beings who are quartered here, don't know which way to take to get to heaven. The Irish Catholics are not good for much, but the oppression they undergo is dreadful, to say nothing of the insults. I hear the K. will not let Lord H. into the Ministry on account of *Miledi*, who he fears would be Prime Minister. Where is the family?

Afftely. yours,

G. W. R.

(101) *Sydney Smith to T. Moore.*Undated. [Ascertained date, *June 15, 1831.*]

By the Beard of the prelate of Canterbury, by the Cassock of the prelate of York, by the breakfasts of Rogers, by Luttrell's love of sidedishes, I swear I had rather hear you sing than any person male or female.—For what is your singing but beautiful poetry floating in fine music and guided by exquisite feeling? Call me a Dissenter, say that my cassock is ill put on, that I know not the delicacies of decimation, and confound the greater and the smaller Tythes,—but do not think or say that I am insensible to your music.—The truth is that I took a solemn oath to Mrs. Beauclerc to be there by 10, and set off to prevent perjury at eleven—but was seized with a violent pain in the stomach by the way, and went to bed suffering under a Purgery of another sort.

Yours ever my dear Moore very sincerely,
SYDNEY SMITH.

(102) *Grey to Russell.*WENTWORTH, *September 13, 1827.*

DEAR LORD JOHN,—I received your letter here last night. As you have seen the letter which I wrote, by the Duke of Bedford's desire, to Tavistock, it is unnecessary for me to say more of the view I have taken of the present state of publick affairs. It is in my opinion the

results of the original and fatal mistake of joining Canning at the expense of "a negligent and unnecessary sacrifice of the importance of the Whig Party." This I never would have consented to, even for the sake of keeping out the old Tories—their return would, in my opinion, have been a much less evil. But I do not think this could have happened, and whether it has been effectually prevented, time will shew. It was impossible, I think, for Canning and those who left him to re-unite—much more so than for Huskisson and Goderich (who, by the way, has always professed that he put [aside?] political attachments to Castlereagh to rejoin them—that "Huskisson has no Tory principles to overcome," I admit—nor any other.

I am afraid you will find yourself very much deceived in the good you seem to expect from the present dependent state of the Government. It is not from a weak administration fearful of publick opinion on the one side, but entirely subservient to the will of a corrupt Court on the other, that we are to look for security against all the evils with which we are threatened, both at home and abroad.

I never can complain of any freedom of censure of my publick conduct, from those who, like myself, are, I am persuaded, actuated only by the kindest motives towards me. But I cannot help regretting that you should have felt that there was any ground of a charge of inconsistency against me, which was so industriously

propagated by —, under the influence of very different feelings. It has been long known that I did not go the length of the economists on the subject of the Corn Laws. Holland can tell you that, long before Liverpool's apoplexy, I thought the conduct of the Government, with respect to this subject, most reprehensible. In the Session before the last, I took as strong and as decided a part, on the question for giving the Government the power of admitting foreign corn, and spoke as often as in the last. On the late Corn Bill, I took no part, except in voting for it on the second reading. I voted also, but without speaking, for the Duke of Wellington's amendment, which I thought an improvement when I found the most factious use was made of that amendment, to excite a popular clamour against the House of Lords and all landed Proprietors, and that the Ministers attempted to unite the power of the Crown with the violence of the mob, an union which never yet has taken place without the worst consequences. For that purpose I certainly did declare my resolution to make a determined stand against it, a resolution which I was prepared to maintain, and still am prepared to act upon, with all the power that I have left. Afterwards, when the temporary Bill came up to the H. of Lords, it was absolutely necessary that I should give my reasons for supporting it, and at the same time repel the foul insinuations which had been cast upon myself and those who had

supported the amendment—this constitutes the whole of the activity which you think “differed so much from my mode of acting for the last two years.”

Pray remember me very kindly to Lord and Lady Holland, and believe me,

Ever most truly yours,

GREY.

(103) *Russell to Moore.*

STEBBING, *October 23, 1827.*

DEAR MOORE,—I was very sorry to find you had declined coming to Chatsworth when I was there. But I suppose Clio and Mrs. Moore have beckoned you back to Sloperton. However, I have no right to complain, as I altered my plan of going to Bowood for the purpose of keeping a previous engagement to visit the Duke of Devon this autumn.

I have been several times considering what I could furnish you about Lord Byron, and it is so little that it is not worth making a separate paper of.

I recollect he shews in the beginning of the memoirs that extreme sensitiveness about his leg, which he always retained. I think he says that when he was in love with Miss Chaworth, being about twelve years old, he was mortally offended by hearing she had said to her maid, “What! Do you think I can care about that lame boy?” he directly set off home some seven or eight

miles without taking leave of her or any of the family. We may remember that he was always afterwards very touchy about this leg, and no doubt he fancied himself the Black Dwarf and other things.

I recollect that when in Greece he speaks of the delight he had in swimming and in sitting naked upon a rock, looking upon the port of Athens. When he comes home he does not at first think of "Childe Harold," but of something else he had written, and when he shews the Childe to his friends, Rogers and one or two others, they agree that it won't do. Some-one told him it was too good for the age. Rogers says it was not him. The success was, we all know, prodigious—a rage. Rogers says he used to be asked by ladies to get him to sit next to them at supper, &c., &c., &c. He describes the blue-stocking parties, with a number of young ladies at the back "trying hard to look wise, and all the prettier for not succeeding."

About his married life, the less you say the better. And there are more reasons than one why I wish you to be tender of his wife and sister, not to praise them unduly, of course, but to respect their feelings in the unpleasant situation in which they stand to the world.

In the latter part of his life I do not remember anything, and indeed the whole merit of his MSS. was, as Lady H. says, in the impression; he praises Lady Byron very much for her acquirements, and says they were only diminished

by the unjustly low opinion she had of them herself.

One of his poems, "The Giaour," I think, was entirely written after he returned home from balls in London at 2 or 3 in the morning.

Write to Lady Blessington to get you the papers from the merchant at Genoa, and also the lines he addressed to her, which are some of them very good.

All that scene about his marriage, which has been often alluded to, I suppose you will leave out. You may say, however, that he denied having said he would be revenged of her for refusing him, when he got into the carriage. Perhaps he said it in joke.

If I recollect more I will write again. I think, on the whole, with Greece at the beginning and the end, London life, Venice, and Ravenna, you may work up a pretty story enough.

I see W. Scott, in his "Life of Napoleon," emulates your love of similes and poetical ornament. But he fails most egregiously, and his writing is as bad as the substance of his history—bad stuff altogether!

Mrs. Arkwright delighted us at Chatsworth by her singing. But we missed you the more. Remember me kindly to Mrs. Moore. What does she think of the present administration, and the chance of its lasting?

Yours faithfully,

J. RUSSELL.

Pray write—to St. James's Square.

(104) *Moore to Russell.*

SLOPERTON, *October 31, 1827.*

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—It was very good-natured of you to take the trouble of writing out those recollections of Byron, and I shall be most thankful for anything more you can contrive to remember. . . . I feel a little curious to know exactly the colour of your politics just now, as from the rumour I hear of some of your brother “watchmen,” Althorp, Milton, &c., I begin sometimes to apprehend that you, too, may be among the fallers-off. Lord Lansdowne tells me, however, that you are quite staunch, and for his sake I hope so. I should be much better pleased, I own, if you were all turned to the *right* about, and my great wish is that Lord L. may either *make or find* some good public grounds for retiring before the “ebbing Neptune” of liberalism in the Cabinet leaves him quite aground.

. . . I had a glimpse of your book the other day at Bowood, but as it was in request, I could not get hold of it but for a few minutes before breakfast, so that I do not as yet know how far you have brought the very interesting information, which I see it contains, to bear upon the present state of the Turkish question. How close you have been about this book, telling it to no one (Rogers says) but the *Literary Gazette*! Sam has been at Bowood, alternately

amusing and disagreeable, flowery and thorny, smile and bile, as usual. . . .

Bessy sends her very best regards, and believe me, my dear Lord John,

Ever faithfully yours,

THOMAS MOORE.

(105) *William Russell to Russell.*

BERNE, December 24, 1827.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I only received yesterday your letter of the 2nd Decr. Why it was so long on the road I cannot tell. I answered your amusing letter from Paris as soon as I received it. The first battle in Parliament will be interesting to a degree; I would gladly be there—I possibly may—don't be surprised if I am. Berne is very well, but London is better; it is there the great interests of this world are canvassed and settled, and I like to be in the thick of great interests. Not that I complain of Berne. Bessy is well, the children are well, and the people, both Natives and Foreigners, are civil beyond expression. In England you all treat Bessy as if she was an ordinary person, on the Continent she is treated like the most distinguished person in Europe, and in fact she is. Sovereigns, Potentates, Princes, Ministers, Men of Letters and simple individuals seek her acquaintance and vie with each other to show her attention. Talents and virtues are more respected in the continent than in England, Rank and Riches command respect

in our moral Country. I never wish to conceal my opinions on Politics, and as far as I am able to judge, I should defend the treaty of London, and battle of Navarino. My father tells me he hopes I will go with Althorp: I hope I may; he is an upright, well-intentioned man. I presume Tavistock follows him. Wishing you a happy Christmas, and hoping we may meet you soon.

Affectionately yours,

G. W. R.

CHAPTER III

Religious toleration—Municipal reform—The representation of the people—Repeal of the Test Act—Roman Catholic emancipation—Foreign politics—Political crisis in Paris—Intercession for Polignac—Offer of an important office by Earl Grey—"Peace, Reform, and Economy"—Preparations for the Reform Bill—Attitude of the King—The Reform Bill—Victory.

(106) *Althorp to Russell.*

January 13, 1828.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I hardly think that the Parliament will meet for dispatch of business on the 22nd, for they cannot have an administration by that time to advise the King what to say in his speech. I cannot manage to be in town even if business is to begin then before the 21st, but I do not think this of any consequence as I am against any thing like a meeting or any endeavour by the half-dozen of us who happen to think alike to form a Party. If as I expect a Tory administration is formed, or just such a one as Lord Liverpool's with an Anticatholic Head, I conclude all persons who pretend to be Whigs will be in opposition, and then I think the best, the wisest and the thing

the most useful for the country, which we can do is to be very quiet and to allow ourselves to be absorbed in the general Whig Party. I am for this, because I consider it the best chance of again restoring Party feelings and replacing everything in the position in which it was before the Insurrection at Brooks's and Lord Lansdowne's weakness did the great injury of destroying Party, in the Country. As to the Administration which is just gone, I think its destruction an unmixed good, we cannot have any thing worse, though I do not think it likely we may have something better.

Yours most sincerely,

ALTHORP.

(107) *Russell to Moore.*

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *March 31, 1828.*

MY DEAR MOORE,—My constitution is not quite so much improved as the constitution of the country by late events, but the joy of it will soon revive me. It is really a gratifying thing to force the enemy to give up his first line, that none but Churchmen are worthy to serve the state, and I trust we shall soon make him give up the second, that none but Protestants are.

Peel is a very pretty hand at hauling down his colours. The D. of W. is just up on the Corn Bill. The *Quarterly* I think good—but is Keats really so poor a hand? You must

vindicate yourself and Byron from the charge of corrupting the age and the taste of the age.

Yours ever,

J. R.

(108) *Holland to Russell.*

April 3, 1828.

DEAR JOHN,—In case you are gone to Woburn I *write* what I wished to say to you. Eldon opposes tooth and nail, and I collect from his conversation that he does it in his most formidable way by pulling the details to pieces, perplexing and alarming the house with the strange confusion in Law which will ensue from an Act so worded and so constructed. He says that till he saw the Bill he could not believe that any man capable of holding a pen could be so ignorant of the state of the law and the nature, bearing and number of the Statutes he wished to repeal. Now pray tell me who drew your Bill—did Heywood ever see it? And do you know any body who is likely to discover the faults, and more particularly, the *omissions* which Eldon pretends to have found and means to expose? This is material—for we should forestall all such as appear to be reasonable by avowing an intention to amend or supply them in Committee. You will observe their objections and omissions apply to the repealing clause, not to the declaration to your Bill, not to Peel's part of it. In short, to meet such an antagonist without such disadvantage, I want

plenty of information and to be quite perfect in my lesson—for he fights with authority, aye, and with legal followers, too, and unless I can get Plunkett (who would, indeed, be a host), I shall have none.

In addition to argument, we must in prudence take some pains to get proxies and votes. I hope that your father and Tavistock will have no scruple in asking such Peers as are likely to be swayed by them, to attend either in person or by proxy, on the 17th August, when I move the second reading. I do not despair, I am even sanguine of success, but we must bestir ourselves for the Enemy are beginning to be active, the nature of the ground when the House of Lords is the field of battle is all in their favour, and our troops are much dispersed, composed of various nations, and little accustomed to the word of command. How does your cousin, Lord Bradford, vote? and would not Lord Bath stretch a point for a bill moved by you when neither Church nor Ministry oppose it as a body?

Yours,

VASSALL HOLLAND.

(109) *The Countess Spencer to Russell.*

June, 1828.

[This letter refers to the Repeal of the Test Act.]

You must allow me, my dear and excellent friend, to tell you my delight at your success in

the most important event of the present time. For assuredly the measure which you have been the means of carrying is the greatest demonstration of the power of liberal opinions and of the increasing good sense of the country that in my long life I have witnessed ; this admirable effect is mainly owing to the steady consistent and manly line of conduct which you and a few, a *very few*, of your particular associates have pursued “through good report and through evil report,” and your reward, though long delayed is beginning to appear. A magnificent one it truly will prove itself to be ! The renovation of your country’s strength and the establishment of its power on a foundation which never can fail, the hearty concurrence and unanimity of all the intelligence ingenuity and enterprize of its population. For such I firmly believe will be the result of fair and liberal dealings on the part of public men with the mass composed as it is in England of the best materials of any now on the face of the world. But I will not annoy you longer in this unreasonable manner, but stop and ask your forgiveness for this strange outpouring of my feelings—but my mind is just now very full of all the good which I foresee and which you have brought about.

Will you dine with us on Saturday? How delighted my dear Lord Tavistock will be—it does me good to think of it.

Affly. yours,

LAVINIA SPENCER.

(110) *The Borough Reeve of Manchester
to Russell.*

TOWN HALL, MANCHESTER, *July 26, 1828.*

MY LORD,—I have the honor to transmit copy of a Resolution unanimously adopted by the Committee appointed to carry into effect the Resolutions of a Public Meeting held in the town on the 23rd of May, 1827, to petition Parliament for the elective franchise to be transferred to Manchester.

As Chairman of the Committee I beg leave to add my warmest acknowledgments for the attention with which I have, on all occasions, felt honoured by your Lordship.

I have the honour to be

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

CHARLES CROSS.

(Borough Reeve of Manchester.)

Resolved: That this Committee cannot terminate its proceedings without recording its grateful thanks to Lord John Russell for the important service, which as a Member of the House of Commons, he has rendered to the Town of Manchester, in furtherance of its just claim to be represented in Parliament, and for the polite and gratifying attention which the members of the Committee have uniformly experienced from his Lordship in the various communications with him on this subject.

(111) *Russell to Moore.*

BRIGHTON, July 29, 1828.

MY DEAR MOORE,—Many thanks for the nib of your pen—it is but the nib, however, for with the exception of your very good lines in the sycophant *Times* you give no opinions or facts. So I must tell you a bit of my mind.

Never was such a clamour as was made in the London world against my motion—members, opposition, Huskisson, and all were frightened at the threats of a few stupid Ultras. And after all the whole of my meaning was to say strongly that Government could no longer leave Ireland to go by herself, for it is not as one of the Popes said of France: “La buona machina che anda sola!” What our ministry will do, heaven only knows, but I cannot blame O’Connell for being a little impatient after 27 years of just expectations disappointed.

The Duke of W. has hitherto thought that a touch of his would make all the world go right,

“Multumque priori credere fortunæ.”

but I suspect he has now found a task that makes his cheek pale, and his nights uneasy. Although at the same time such a message as Fox brought down in 1782 would settle it all at least for 20 years more. You never do justice to that great man.

I am going to take some Carlsbad waters, but

hope to be at Bowood for a couple of days in the course of August.

Say all you can for me to Mrs. Moore.

Yours,

J. R.

(112) *Lord Brougham to Russell.*

August 19, 1828.

MY DEAR LORD J.,—I want much to turn your attention to an important matter.

You know our lives and histories (U.K.) are excellent in many respects—and in one particularly—they inculcate sound and virtuous principles against war, treachery, and slavery. But they do so rather by the reflexions interspersed than by the tone and manner of the narrative. In short, the story is told too much in the ordinary way, and the proper *tone and manner* is wanting, though excellent remarks are brought in apart. What I am above all things anxious to see is such a narrative as may, without *formal observations*, inculcate a hatred of cruelty and perfidy, and to make men feel towards publick delinquents as they do towards common offenders, notwithstanding courage, talents, and success. By publick delinquents, I mean tyrants, conquerors, and intriguers. Now, this experiment of writing lives and histories so as to keep up the interest and yet treat the crimes of those vulgarly called great men so as to excite disgust when atrocious, and contempt when mean—and

so as, also, to give a proper *relief* to the truly important events and circumstances and sink the less material things to their right [level] is new, and can only be successful by several trying it. For until we try, we cannot say who has the gift and who not. I am sure you are at the least as likely to succeed as any are—I should say rather more so—for you have great experience in addition to many other qualifications.

My health (though much improved) and the shortness of the vacation will make it difficult for me—otherwise I should certainly take a turn at it, either on a life or a short and famous portion of History, and if I find I can, I will. But *you*—really you must set about it and make the attempt.

Yours ever truly,

H. BROUGHAM.

My address for two or three weeks to come will be Northern Circuit. Any news will be very acceptable.

(113) *Holland to Russell.*

October, 1828.

DEAR JOHN,—Your plan is good and most seasonable. The Kent meeting is a matter of great interest and importance, and I trust our friends in that county, if we have any, will exert themselves. Urge those you know to do so, for the tranquillity of the Empire may really depend on the result of that manœuvre of the

Kentish clodpolls and bigots. There are stories current of Camden attending, and attending at the request of Wellington. In that case all is safe, and we shall hear no more of the English Brunswickers but in the shape of hole and corner resolutions, close clubs and foolish toasts, speeches and letters. Unfortunately, deprecators are not strong at Maidstone, and the majority of such as there are there are neither Independents nor Unitarians. Of the latter, however, there are some, and one of that stamp is generally in talent and always in stoutness a match for two of any other denomination. They will do all they can, and if all who approve of Emancipation will do as much, I shall not despair of a triumph.

I am very sorry indeed for the Russian disaster—sorry for them *eo nomine*, and yet more, as furnishing triumph to common enemies—Turks and philo-Turks, and Austrians and philo-Austrians. However, I do not believe the Russians to be quite in so bad a plight as their enemies pretend.

Yours,
VASSALL HOLLAND.

(114) *Russell to Moore.*

October 21, 1828.

I never was more —¹ than when I saw your asinine effusion. I liked it very much,

¹ Illegible.

and imagined at first that you had taken the idea from me, only making it lively instead of dull. But then I was surprised not to find a single hint of mine adopted. You accuse me of laziness. The fact is I was not labouring in my vocation, and it is vexatious to lose one's time to be put among the *mediocribus*. The verses I sent you were begun in the solitude of a stage-coach, left for a week on my writing-table (which shows priority of invention) and then finished one day after shooting, when I was in a hurry to dress for dinner. I will try again, if I can from the "dancing," but the whole thing is now stale, and forestalled.

We have the Jerseys, &c., here and Rogers, who, as usual, having been put in one of the best rooms of the house, complains he has no view. He is much out of humour with the Hollands, with whom he has been living intimately of late. Very amusing he is too, but I have been obliged to stop him in three or four stories which he had told me last week.

I am glad to hear Tom is well, and hope to hear good accounts of Anastasia. I hope you will bury Lord Byron in Westminster Abbey, though the Dean would not. I am afraid Anglesey is going over to the enemy. Pray gibbet the Intolerants on every occasion.

Yours,

J. R.

(115) *Mr. Stanley to Russell.*

KNOWSLEY, *October 22, 1828.*

DEAR LORD JOHN,—I see no reason why I should not become a Member of the Society you propose, and a very strong reason why I should in the main principle for which it is to be instituted—still, before I say positively either yes or no, I should like a little more information than your note gives me. A Committee for the promotion of Religious Liberty presents to my mind nothing very definite, and I should be glad to know who are the persons who have already put down their names, or taken any active part—what are the modes by which it is proposed to forward the object—and how far that object goes—not, I conclude, to placing Dissenters, whether Catholic or Protestant, upon a par with the Established Church in matters not political, as, for instance, exempting them from contributing to the support of the Establishment—and yet this might fairly come into some persons' notions of Religious Liberty. A little information upon these points I should be much obliged to you for, before I send you a final answer. I quite agree, however, in the advantage of making the Catholic Question a much more leading point of party than it has been made yet, and also of obtaining any points of union by which to consolidate a party of steady opposition to the Government. An opposition I think we must have, for I have no great hopes

of the D. for Ireland. If the reports of Lord Anglesea's resignation are correct, and that he is to be succeeded by Lord Beresford, it will look very badly for conciliation, and I think in that case F. Leveson would not stay; I am quite of opinion that the Catholics should take whatever is offered them, but protest against being satisfied without full and complete Emancipation. I should like to hear what you would say to the Wings if they were now proposed? or to the Veto?

I shall be here, if you are inclined to write to me, all the winter, till we come up to Town, but I shall certainly attend the meeting of Parliament whenever it is.

Yours very sincerely,
E. G. STANLEY.

(116) *Althorp to Russell.*

October 22, 1828.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I dislike very much not to join you in any of your undertakings, and I feel very little confidence in my own opinion when it is opposed to such opinions as yours and Lord Holland's, but yet, turning the matter over in every way I possibly can, I do not see any prospect or probability that the formation of the Club which you propose will accelerate the carrying of Catholic emancipation. I do not see practically how it can conduce to this end. On the other hand, I see a possibility, and that not a very distant one, that it may do a great

deal of harm by the jealousy, which it may excite among the Anticatholics. I should therefore in ordinary circumstances be disinclined to the formation of such a society. In the present an additional objection presents itself to my mind, viz., that it will be attributed to the Brunswickers, that is, that you will be supposed to have originated it in order to counteract them, and looked at in that light it would appear a very inefficient measure indeed. I am aware that this is not the case, as I think I heard from you or some other person something on this subject as early as the Dissenters' dinner. But it will be attributed to this cause. Now if it was desirable to oppose the Brunswickers with their own weapons, and to raise as violent a spirit of Discord in England as exists in Ireland, it should be done by numerous Clubs consisting of as large numbers of members as possible, and not by a society of forty sensible and well-educated people, for good sense will stand a poor chance in a contest with folly, if it condescends to use the weapons which folly has provided. I am not afraid of the Brunswickers. We must beat them if we can whenever they come out of their holes and corners, and expose them to the ridicule and execration of all men of liberal minds, and then their hole and corner exertions will have but little effect in a country so well educated as England now is.

Yours most truly,

ALTHORP.

(117) *Holland to Russell.**December 26, 1828.*

DEAR JOHN,—I think Lord Nugent's scheme very feasible, and if properly managed, useful. The Dissenters with some formidable exceptions, are, I believe, well disposed to petition for the Roman Catholicks, even *eo nomine* the Unitarians are, I am sure, quite ripe for it—but it would perhaps be better in taste and principle, and certainly more agreeable to their practices and opinions to make the prayer of their petition more general, and, after acknowledging the benefits they have received with becoming gratitude, to pray for the completion of religious liberty by the removal of all disqualifying laws and especially such as any large classes of their fellow subjects continue to labour under. I see no reason why we should split. If the Great Duke does nothing our course is clear, opposition, defiance, attack on his whole line. If he frankly avows his intention of admitting the Roman Catholics to Parliament, cordial assistance and co-operation, great accommodation about securities and as much acquiescence as conscience can admit of in all his other manifold sins abroad and at home—if he uses the same sort of ambiguous language that I find in his nonsensical private letter to Bishop Curtis, printed this day in *Times*, we have only to press him to a good decision and to be very cautious in announcing any hostility to securities and yet

more cautious in suggesting any or promising any acquiescence in any specific measure of the sort. In short, the less we say on that subject the better. The line we ought, perhaps, to take is to recommend admission to Parliament as the first immediate and preliminary step—in our judgment the true and perhaps only security, but if others are wholesome, necessary or conciliatory, the natural and most easy step to accomplish them—for with O'Connell and D. of Norfolk in Parliament we have just as much power of imposing conditions disagreeable to the Catholics as before, and are much more likely to ascertain what would be really agreeable to them, or to reconcile them to what is otherwise, than by unconstitutional negotiations out of Parliament and a friction abroad.

The King has been more than gracious, cordial and kind to L. of Portugal—some say with the view, and certainly with the effect, of annoying the *Maire du Palais*, as well of chasing his little Ally. He calls Peel a rag of calico, and the Noodles and Doodles do much moralize thereupon. Brougham is in good health and spirits. I am afraid Wilmot Horton's nonsense, the worst yet devised, tickles those nonsensical persons the Bishops. All that can be said for it is what Soame Jennings said in favor of Universal Suffrage, it is unpracticable, and if I am ever brought to submit to it, it will be on that principle. Pray let me know how Lady Spencer is—I have been most anxious about her."

(118) *Brougham to Russell.*

1828?

DEAR GIOVANNI,—I am delighted to hear of Tav^s. recovery but I hope he will not recover enough to hunt. I agree in the bulk of your observations. Lord Holland certainly coming in. But Peel wishes to have C. [Catholic] question carried, I suppose with him out of place, other he will have no objection to join a Liberal Government. He is not of the Grey party. For the present I shall feel disposed to keep aloof, “on a hill retired,” to support what and whom I ought to back, but to give my hand to any party or person who is honestly disposed to rescue the Gov^t. from the disgraceful thralldom in which the Windsor jobbers hold it.

Ever yours,

H. B.

(119) *Holland to Russell.*11, BERKELEY SQUARE, *January 20, 1829.*

DEAR JOHN,—You have really done nobly in going down to Exeter, and by all I can collect you have done great good, though not obtained a victory. Ebrington, I think, did quite right in pledging himself to support Acland. Whether he did right or wrong in belonging to Association I do not know, but I own, if he did wrong, I see no use in acknowledging it, and very little

imprudence, if any, in defending it. In short, if I write another line on the subject I shall be persuaded it was the best and wisest thing ever done. I hear, apropos of Association, that Attorney-General Joy is in town, and if he is so, Irishmen tell me it must be for the purpose of drawing up an Association Bill. In that case I wish that not only Ebrington but all of us were members. I have been reading you in past times with much delight, not that I could not find fault there too. You speak of Warburton and his book as if he was really a believer, and I think he hardly pretended to be so ; and then you condemn poor Middleton (*by far the best writer of them all*) for insincerity on account of an innocent pleasantry, which proves, if it proves anything, that he never affected more sanctity than he possessed. Clarke and Middleton are the only great men among those you describe, and somehow or another you give one an impression that you admire Warburton and respect Hoadley more than either. Warburton was brilliant at a paradox, but had neither wisdom, nor judgment, nor honesty ; and Hoadley, though a very good, was surely not an extraordinary man. I believe Clarke—for I never read him—to be one of the greatest metaphysicians England ever produced ; and I certainly know Middleton to be the very best writer and one of the best reasoners we have. I like all you say of Sir Robert prodigiously, but are you not wrong in giving Shippon credit

for integrity in not voting against him? I always heard that it was a bargain, and I think I have heard from no mean authority that he was in secret communication with Walpole all along, and if he did not actually take money, found it somehow or another his interest to betray to Walpole the counsels of his party. You may be sure that the Tory Opposition of those days were a gang of rogues and intriguers, if ever there was one. There was, of course, a large mass of fools, as there is at this day, to work upon, but their leaders were able, I wiss—much more so than they have been in our day.

Yours,

VASSALL HOLLAND.

(120) *Dr. Lant Carpenter to Russell.*

BRISTOL, *February 24, 1829.*

MY LORD,—I have the honour of transmitting to you, in the name of the Unitarian congregation assembling in Lewin's Mead in this city, and their Pastors, a copy of a petition to the House of Commons expressive of thankfulness for the restoration of our rights as Protestant Dissenters, of our desire for the removal of all civil disqualifications for religious opinions, and of confidence in the Legislature and Executive Government, in this most important work—with the respectful solicitation that you will do us the honour of presenting it when you deem most

advisable. The petition itself will be in the hands of Mr. John Hall, of the Election Office, to-morrow morning.

This petition was unanimously and most cordially agreed to by a full congregation at the close of our public worship last Sunday, and it is signed by nearly all the male members of *adequate age*. Our congregation has a large proportion of females, many of them not legally represented ; but we did not consider it proper to *allow* even these to annex their signatures. There are among us men of high respectability for influence and wealth ; and I need not hesitate in saying that our congregation possesses a fair proportion of that influence which arises from worth of character, general intelligence, and active usefulness.

I was particularly charged to state to your Lordship, and to request you to state on presenting the petition, that several who have signed it had previously signed the *general* Pro-Catholic petition from this city, but as the general petition could not enter upon *our peculiar* grounds for addressing the Legislature, and we had purposed some weeks ago to address it on these grounds, we have not felt ourselves called upon to withhold our names on the present occasion.

I beg to add that my co-pastor, Mr. Rowe, took a most able and effective part in the anti-Catholic meeting in this city nearly sixteen years ago, and that he is respected by all classes for his public talent and usefulness.

I have the honour to sign myself, my Lord, in the name of all concerned, with a deep sense of our obligations to you, as Protestant Dissenters.

Your Lordship's faithful and obedient servant,
LANT CARPENTER.

(121) *Thomas Campbell*¹ to Russell.

10, SEYMOUR ST. WEST, LONDON, *March* 16, 1829.

MY LORD,—I believe the Rectorship of the University of Glasgow will be the next November at your Lordship's service if you will now pledge yourself to the acceptance of it. I mean simply pledge yourself *to me*,—for I give you my word of honour that your answer on the subject shall not be known to another individual. By your acceptance (I put out of view all the honour which you would confer upon me—that being on my part a selfish consideration) you would contribute to the great cause of Liberalism and confer an essential favour on the free spirits of Scotland and the Institution that boasts of Simpson and Adam Smith and Dr. Reid. . . . With much respect I have the honour of being
Your faithful servant

THOS. CAMPBELL.

¹ The Poet. See note in Appendix.

(122) *Moore to Russell.*BOWOOD, CALNE, *April 22, 1829.*

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—I have so long owed you an acknowledgement for your kind letter written months ago that you might well think I forgot it—but I have not nor ever shall—words of kindness at that moment sink deep and have associated themselves with thoughts never to be forgotten. Mrs. Moore is not well—as long as the bustle of leaving our cottage continued she kept up pretty well in spirits, though wretched in health—but, now that's over, her spirits seem again to give way. She is going to Cheltenham as soon as I start for town (in about ten days) and I look to its doing a good deal to restore her.

I hope you will be able to get up some question or other to keep the House together a little longer than they now threaten. My book will otherwise be a *vox clamantis in deserto*. It looks as if you all had not a single thing to think of at home or abroad now that the Paddies are made happy—and for a Paddy like me this is a very natural feeling so much so that I consider my own politics entirely at an end—nothing in the world can ever again conjure up a spirit in me like that which the Duke has now laid, and for anything of a secondary class—anything short of seven millions of people—it is beneath my notice. Even the millions of the Debt are but a poor substitute. For you Englishmen however it should be otherwise at least I hope it will be

otherwise this Session for the sake of my book which is now my only politics—as the Jew said when asked what religion he was—“I’s e a marchant.”

I am getting on slowly as usual and the devils already “gall my kibes.” I have still, I fear, two or three good months of working before me in town, and where I am to lodge myself for the purpose I know not. Lady Holland when I was printing “Sheridan” offered me Holland House as a workshop—and my reason for declining it was (which I shall tell her some time) that I *knew* what I was employed upon would some of it displease Lord H. and therefore felt it to be a sort of treachery to do it under his roof.

If you think I deserve a letter, I should like much to hear from you, but I have no right to ask it.

Yours ever most faithfully

THOMAS MOORE.

(123) *William Russell to Russell.*

BERNE, *Thursday, October 7, 1829.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—We miss you very much in our domestic circle, however I did not like to press you to stay for I knew you ought to go to England, and that your duty and inclination were at variance. You have done right to yield to duty, and will have your reward. You would have been a great comfort to Lady Wm. at Geneva, but then you must either have gone home in the midst of winter, or have given up

your labors in England which are very important—for much is to be done there, in improving the morals and knowledge of the people. I look upon the Power and happiness of a Nation to consist in the possession of Liberty, and every page of History proves to us that a corrupt, profligate, ignorant people were never long in the possession of liberty or happiness, but a moral and enlightened people have invariably been lovers and guardians of liberty, consequently education and all the good that flows from it will do more to keep our Country free than many more specious and showy laws, besides nobody dare oppose education and moral improvement, whilst every lover of slavery is up in arms when a great political question in favor of freedom is to be discussed. I was glad to hear you say you meant to touch the poor laws, it is a bold thing to do, but very necessary. You will be abused by every ignorant political economist, Country Squire and interested parson in the Country, but if you begin the task, you must not flinch from it, considering the Country and the Poor and nothing else. A weak Ministry *must* yield to reasonable reforms. Our weather is worse than ever. I fear the Alps will be impassable. Bessy too has been ill, but is now better. Heaven knows when we shall get to Italy ;—these domestic cares are unknown to you, however I hear they do not frighten you from wishing to engage in them. You are quite right—there is no happiness like that derived from

Wife and Children, it makes one indifferent to all other pleasures, but then “beware” don’t tumble headlong into marriage: remember when once in, you can’t get out, and if it don’t suit it is “Hell upon Earth.” You are a man of settled pursuits and habits and must have a wife that will take interest in them,—a gadding, flirting, dressing, ball-going wife would be the Devil. Nor would one of the New Light ladies be quite the thing,—a little good sense, a little money would be better, not too young either, in short look before you leap is the advice of an old stager and your sincere

Well wisher

G. W. R.

(124) *Holland to Russell.*

BRIGHTON, *October 28, 1829.*

DEAR JOHN,—With nothing to send in return, I must thank you for an excellent letter. It delights the cockles of my heart to find we agree—the more so as the rest of the world is run mad with excessive apprehension of Russia’s maritime preponderance, and what not. The straightforward Administration, which by turning sharp round on the Catholick business has done us so much real good at home, by its bye ways and low, not high, ways abroad has brought us to a pass which is truly pitiable, and, if there were no danger, would be laughable. We have somehow or another exasperated the two greatest Powers on the Continent—viz., the Cabinet of

St. Petersburg and the publick opinion of France, and we have done so without serving ourselves or our pretended allies, and without ingratiating ourselves either with those we wished well to or those who are really benefited by the transactions. Neither Turks nor Greeks have to thank us. Your account of Gordon's position is droll enough, and I believe correct; the Government here is equally perplexed—nettled at heart, and yet ashamed to own its disappointment as much as it was afraid to strike any blow to prevent it. They sneer at the moderation of Nicholas, and manifestly delight in the diatribes of the Press, which all concur in miscalling it treachery, perfidy, encroachment, and what not. If it is really as it appears, it is not only moderation, but moderation run mad, a contradiction in terms, a solecism in language, and a damned blunder in politicks; but though I neither partake of the fears nor agree with the reasonings of these Philo-Ottoman patriots, I think I can perceive that some of the glittering magnanimity of the Czar is not sterling gold—and I am not so sorry for it as I perhaps ought to be. I should be sorry if, exasperated at an impotent ill-will, cold co-operation, and doubtful good faith, she should detach Prussia from her natural politicks, and bribe her with territory in Germany to cede the Rhenish provinces to France, and connive at her dismemberment of Turkey and aggrandizement towards Greece. Did you read a paper of Licard on trade of Black Sea, printed

from the *Odessa Gazette* in the *Times*? Pray ask Adair or Pozzo if they know anything about it. If the facts are correct they are material. . . . [Most of remainder missing.]

(125) *Holland to Russell.*

December 6, 1829.

DEAR JOHN,—We shall be at H H on Thursday and hope to see you soon. If there be nothing in the former treaties with Turkey like the 7th article so much the worse, as L^d. North said, for my argument, but I am not convinced and indeed do not believe that said 7th article is quite new. . . .

I am not surprised at the Great Captain's spirits. Nothing I believe disturbs him. I think however French affairs will before long be more troublesome to him than he imagines, though according to his usual custom and *straightforward* character when the obstacle occurs, he will turn sharp round on his crane neck and swear that he always meant to drive that way.

We had Mack [Mackintosh] here for a day or two and he is well. He has settled the state of our friends as usual in a phrase "He never saw, he will not say, such differences of opinion, but such strong divergence of inclination among them." We shall see what a divergent Session will do for us.

Yours,

VASSALL HOLLAND.

(126) *Grey to Russell.*HOWICK, *December* 13, 1829.

I was very much obliged to you for your letter of the 3rd, which I received a few days ago. I must always read with interest any information or any opinions you may think it worth while to communicate to me on the state of publick affairs, and I shall always be ready to give you in return, tho' probably without much advantage to you, yet freely and fairly, what I think upon them. Your view as to the condition of the French Ministry seems to be already confirmed.

I had a letter yesterday from Flahault, in which he says that Polignac is out and that the King had commissioned Roy to form a new administration. It would probably be made up, he said by a sort of coalition.

My wishes must naturally be in favour of liberal principles and opinions, and I shall be very glad to find that you are right in believing that the issue of the present struggle will be favourable to the liberty of France, and, I must add, the peace of the world. Here, I confess, is my great fear. It appears to me from all I have read in their . . . papers, and all I have heard from others, including Adair, to be so much violence on the part of the Liberals, and a spirit of such bitter hostility to this country, that I cannot help dreading the result of their obtaining the power of the government. I am

a friend, in the words of the old Whig toast, to "the cause of liberty all over the world," but my first care must be for England, and if the accession of the Liberals to power is likely to be attended with a renewal of all the evils of war, I must wish for Polignac or for the Devil himself in preference to them.

You say that I know "the line the Duke has taken," which, from what follows, I must conclude is that of a decided and avowed support of the present administration. If this be the true interpretation, I certainly was not aware that the Duke had gone so far. My disposition certainly is favourable to the Duke of W., and the Repeal of the Test Act and the Relief Bill are great benefits to the country, for which we owe much to him. . . . My position therefore remains as it was, . . . a friendly neutrality. Nothing could give me greater pain than to find myself placed in opposition to the Duke's Government.

There seems to me to be much justice and truth in what you say as to our conduct relating to the affairs of Turkey and Greece. I must always think that the Government was left in a state of great embarrassment and difficulty by the result of Canning's measures. But what they have done does not appear to me to have been in the best view for extricating the country from these difficulties.

[GREY.]

(127) *Devonshire to Russell.*

CHATSWORTH, *December 22, 1829.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I am very obliged by your letter. In these days we should think nothing impossible, but till I see Lord Grey in office I never will believe in the King's consenting to it. For myself that event alone would be far from sufficient to satisfy me—but I suppose it would be so marked a demonstration in favour of the party we have belonged to that we should have to accept it as satisfactory. If the Government is to be supported I hope there will have been first a full declaration of what has been disapproved of abroad and at home—which may be quite consistent with the absence of anything like encouragement to Cumberland and Co., who I fear are getting stronger in the country.

I quite agree with you in trusting Althorp and Brougham—but till there is some strong feeling to unite our friends in one general interest, to prevent their following their own devices as they do now, we shall never be worth much as a party.

I wish to see and talk to Abercromby on the subject of your letter but since it came we have been snowed up on the respective sides of our hill.

Ever most truly and faithfully yours,
DEVONSHIRE.

(128) *Lady William Russell to Russell.*

[abbreviated.]

FLORENCE, *January 21, 1830.*

MY DEAR JOHN,—I am dying to know something about your Politics. Every effort should be made to produce some sort of co-operation. You have no doubt conferred enough with Lord Holland. Remember you told me you would, and the more the better. If he could be brought forward into action as a leader, I cannot help thinking a new turn might possibly be given to the general course of affairs. God knows it is wanted. It vexes me to hear the language I incessantly do, that “The D. of W. Govt. should be supported against the ultra Tory or Cumberland faction.” With submission this reason won’t hold water; for my own part, at least, I can discern no cause for apprehension from that quarter. Separately, they could never form a Cabinet. Ld. Eldon’s caution and sagacity are not so worn out as that he would plunge headlong into such a vortex; or suppose them actually in possession of undivided power, could they prosecute a system more decidedly Tory than what is now acted on? I hope some among you will force people—*Ministers and others*—to speak their minds out on Foreign Politics. The *People* and the *Parties* of other countries as well as our own, ought to have some clue to what side we are to be counted on. Holland ought on this point of all others, to unfurl his standard. His claims to attention are so powerful, that if he

will but exert himself with his natural courage and give free vent to his natural feelings, it cannot fail being effective. I am confident he might do good with Grey. It is too evident he (Grey) has been worked by Prejudice and irritation into grievous soreness, but his mind is candid, and too well stored with right at the bottom to be closed against correction. Let Holland but put his shoulder to the wheel, and no fear but that he will find his strength more available for good purposes than he himself at all calculates on. It requires to be shown what Whigs are, and what are their true principles. There is a sad fashion growing up to decry them on all sides, but it is their own fault: I have always thought it their great blame, not putting themselves sufficiently in view, but it is now imperative on them to do it. They must—or they will sink, never to rise again; and with them will go the fairest hopes for saving England and benefiting the world. Tories and Ultras and Radicals and Utilitarians may talk as they will, but the Whigs, I am confident, have as yet a strong hold in the country. Do not let them lose it. It is too much the habit of our friends to under-value Publick spirit and virtue and sense. But let them revert to facts, and they will find that the general feeling of the country has been almost always right when properly appealed to. Look to the only two instances in late times in which it has been unequivocally brought out—the Queen's trial and the short period of Cabinet

Ministry—how admirable in both ! But in the latter the more particularly, because it was influenced by no preconceived partiality for the individual ; on the contrary, strong prejudice gave way to the desire of effectually advancing the Rule of Generous Government. Let genuine Whig principles, I say, be proclaimed, and there will be no want of serviceable auxiliaries to gather under their banners. The remnant of our (?) Friends have more both of inclination and ability to do good in this way (if I may venture to say so) than any of those now in power.

I have been carried on into a dreadful long bore. Pray excuse it.

Affectionately yours,

[LADY] W. RUSSELL.

(129) *William Russell to Russell.*

CORFU, April 1, 1830.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I found your letter here on my arrival, I have been round by Malta ; & came here in the *Wellesley* 74, Cap. Maitland, the same who took *Boney*, so that I have made a most interesting detour and seen my old friend Ned Ponsonby, who manages his Island admirably. Here I found the papers & see you are actively employed. I am told, too, that you are much improved in speaking and are gaining on the public confidence. I like your line of politicks, it is straight-forward, principled and

devoid of factious opposition. This great reduction of Taxes puts me in good humour with the Ministry, it is beyond our most sanguine hopes & will relieve the poor suffering peasantry, but I should not yet be satisfied, much more yet can still be reduced without hurting our respectability or efficient force. Take, for instance, the Army and compare it with the French army of last year—

				Men.	
	French ...	...	...	281,000	cost £7,500,000
	English...	...	...	95,000	nearly £10,000,000
Navy.	French ...	...	...		£2,600,000
	English...	...	...		nearly £6,000,000

And the same disproportion exists throughout all our establishments, the extravagance is in the details which are not well managed. However, I am for urging on the Ministry, without turning them out. We shall not get so good a one to replace them. They have done well, too, about Greece, independence of Turkey was the first object, the Frontier is of no matter, the Ottoman Empire is crumbling to dust, and then Greece can extend her frontier. I trust, however, that Leopold is disposed to give them free institutions. Capo d'Istria is hard at work intriguing against Leopold, he must get rid of him.—Albania is in a state of Anarchy, and the Suliotes and other inhabitants will probably live on the Frontier in independent and marauding societies. Negropont was absolutely necessary for Greece, I think, too, that they should have Zante, if we

could rid ourselves of our burthen. If the Allied Powers had declared that Candia should be Greek the Turks would have willingly abandoned it, now it is too late, Captain Maitland commanded there during the war last year, and acted with his usual sense ———¹ probity and humanity, he showed me his correspondence. The conduct of the Greeks was infamous, the conduct of the Turks excellent, and their letters the very best I ever read, expressing the most humane and high-minded sentiments in the noblest language. They are getting your useful History of Greece translated here for the Continent, it is very good.

(130) *Holland to Russell.*

September 10, 1830.

DEAR JOHN,— . . . Pray in your intercourse with ruling and valuable people say as much as you can, and all you can say will be truth, of the good impression that Clemency to the State prisoners, and especially to Polignac, will have here. The interest felt about him does not the least arise from doubt of his folly and political guilt, but from a knowledge of his gentle manners, extensive English connexion and familiarity and intercourse with English society. Poor Lady Tankerville is very wretched about him, and lenity shown him, if it can be shown with any safety in France, will, I am sure, pro-

¹ Torn off.

pitiante publick opinion, or, at least, *beau monde* opinion (which always has its weight in London) extremely.

Lafayette's speech in favor of abolition of capital punishment has pleased much here and it would be well if he knew it. In addition to reasons I have in common with others for applauding it, I have a secret hope that it may help to soften our treason laws and aid me in getting rid of confiscation in such cases.

Yours,

VASSALL HOLLAND.

(131) *Russell to Moore.*

PANSHANGER, *September 15, 1830?*

DEAR MOORE,—I have done justice and not in mercy upon my females; they are totally beheaded, though perhaps they may come up like your new Washington Irving's ghost with a black ribband round their necks in some other place. I wish you would immediately return the Introduction by the coach to South Audley Street, and you shall have in return the whole work printed off—it is just finish'd. I have not been able to send you the proofs as they were not sent back to me.

I am going off to France in a few days. I heartily wish I could have you with me to make it agreeable. I shall go to Paris for a few days, then to the South of France, and return in six weeks.

I have had a great loss in my aunt, Mrs. Seymour. She was a most affectionate and kind friend to me.

Yours ever,
J. R.

(132) *From Princess de Polignac to Russell.*

September 18, 1830.

I have by chance heard that you are arrived. I am persuaded that you will think it very natural that I should be most anxious to have a few moments' conversation with you, at the same time it is equally essential that it should not be known. Will you therefore in humanity to a suffering fellow-creature call at any hour most convenient *on Mme. Porter*, Rue de Verneuil, No. 31, and have the goodness to be announced as Mr. Browne.

I need not I am persuaded offer any farther apology to Lord John Russell. My signature will plead my excuse.

MARIA DE POLIGNAC.

(133) *Memorandum by Russell on the Revolution of 1830.*

"Returning to M. de Flahault's I found P. de — who told me some curious particulars about the late Revolution, which with some others I have learnt, I will here set down. They are all, I believe, quite correct. The report of Ordinances to supersede or dispense with part

of the Charter had been for some time current. The best informed people were uneasy but inclined to disbelieve the report. M—— speaking to the King said, “Your Majesty must take care to put your adversaries in the wrong. “They are in the wrong, my dear P——,” was the answer of the King. When some apprehensions were expressed of the course likely to be taken, Charles X said: “Je ne sortirai jamais de la Charte.” His Jesuitism, it is supposed, enabled him to say this with a safe conscience, as he pretended that the ordinances were agreeable to Art. 14 of the Charter, which authorises the King to issue ordinances “for the safety of the State.” This conversation was on the 12th or 13th. On the 24th if I am not mistaken he said something of a similar purport.

On the Monday, the day on which the ordinances appeared, M—— told the Prince de Polignac that he was surprised at seeing them in the *Moniteur*, but that he admired his courage. “Oh, it is what I have intended to do for a long time, and therefore I am prepared.” “But are not you afraid of disturbance? La faction est bien audacieuse.” “Je leur conseillerais de ne rien faire; en ma qualité de Ministre de la Guerre j’ai du faire des arrangements, et ils sont faits.” Such was the presumptuous folly of the man, that when he spoke thus no plan was made for any thing more than to quell a slight tumult in the streets, and after the troops had fought a day, they found themselves entirely separated

from their magazines of provisions, which were at a distance from all the places they had to garrison !

On Tuesday and Wednesday the battle was carried on in the streets—on the Wednesday it was supposed, and that even by the Liberals of the higher orders, that the insurrection had failed. Polignac, confident and haughty, refused to listen to any terms of accommodation.

On Thursday morning at 6 or 7 o'clock M— was at the Tuileries asking to see Polignac. "Impossible, he is engaged." M— went to the door of the room and knocked at the door. Polignac came out. "I can't see you—what do you want? We are in council." "You must come; I must speak to you; all depends upon it." Polignac having come out, M— told him that the monarchy was lost unless he and his colleagues retired immediately and made way for new ministers. He was treated coldly. "We are responsible to the King; you have no business here." I then went to Marmont and said: "Arrest these men; they are mad, all depends upon it." Marmont reflected: "No," he said, "I cannot, my previous conduct does not permit me." M— got downstairs as quick as he could and found a *calèche* waiting with some of Polignac's things on it. He threw out the things, and ordered the coachman to drive to St. Cloud. Polignac saw him; ran down and got into another *calèche*. They drove a race to St. Cloud. When arrived M— insisted with Polignac that

he must see the King. He was introduced, and went directly upon his knees. "What does this mean? Rise." "I cannot rise, in the present condition of the monarchy. All is lost unless you dismiss your present Ministers, and revoke the ordinances."

(10 o'clock.)

The interview was long, but the chances seemed still so good that the King resisted. At two o'clock the aspect of affairs was changed. (The Louvre and the Tuileries had been taken.) The King consented to revoke the ordinances, but would not do it without his son, who was not to be found. J— went to the Hotel de Ville, where he found the new authorities. "Have you brought the revocation of the Ordinances?" "No, but the King has consented to it, and the papers will arrive soon." He waited till 11 or 12 at night; nothing came. He went home, and at 3 or 4 in the morning was waked by a message to know whether he had received the new Ordinances, in order to put them in the *Moniteur*. He had not. At nine arrived the Duc de Morlemart, the New Minister, with the Ordinances, appointing himself, Gen. Gerard, Casimir Perier, &c. J— sent to the Provisional Government: it was too late. The dynasty had ceased to reign.

It is worth adding that when Morlemart left St. Cloud he had just reached the first landing-place of the great marble staircase when the

Dauphin ran out and called to him : “ Morlemart, si je n'ai le personnel de la guerre, il n'y a rien de fait.” Was this mere folly, or did the Prince mean by the patronage of the army to regain the ascendant, and break his word as violent and void? There is no perfidy of which a prince by divine right is not capable without remorse.

Monday, 13th. The part of this history which regards the present King is scarcely less remarkable than that which concerns his predecessor. When he first read the Ordinances he was in despair : “ Is it permitted for a Government to break its faith in this way? To hazard the fortunes and liberties of a Nation? There will be a long struggle! On Thursday (?) he got intelligence that the Court meant to arrest him at Neuilly.

On Friday he was out all day visiting farms and villages in the neighbourhood. In the course of this day several deputies and deputations came to Neuilly to inform him that all chance of maintaining Charles X and his family was gone—that the victorious people were as yet undecided—that some called out for a republic, some for young Napoleon—and that the only way of securing a peaceable result was for the D. of Orleans to come into Paris, and place himself at the head of affairs with the concurrence of the Chamber of Deputies. The ladies replied that they knew not where the Duke was. This was received with incredulity, and one said, “ Well, madam, then all I can say is that after to-day

it will be too late." It is reported that M^{lle} d'Orleans, to remove suspicion, said she was ready to go into Paris as a hostage for her brother. This convinced the deputies, and they went away with the assurance that at a certain hour in the evening the Duke would return, and should be informed of all that had passed. He came accordingly ; was told the occurrences of the day, and took with him into his own room the papers, printed and other, that had been left for his perusal. In half an hour he came out, and ———¹

(134) *Althorp to Russell.*

ALBANY, November 1830.

MY DEAR JOHN,—Lord Grey desires me to write to you to ask if you will be willing to take office in the administration which he is forming, such a situation of course being offered to you as your abilities and parliamentary character entitle you to claim. I have not been able to escape and have been obliged to sacrifice myself, for to me it is an entire sacrifice, but a difficulty occurred which I did not foresee and which could only be got over by my taking office. As I hope you will be ready to assist, if I can, I will get your writ delayed for a few days.

Yours most truly,

ALTHORP.

Pray let me have some idea of what you would like.

¹ Rest missing.

(135) *Bedford to Russell.*

LONDON, November 17, 1830.

MY DEAR JOHN,—I have had a most gratifying and cordial communication from Ld. Grey, which has given me much pleasure. He is endeavouring to form an administration on "The Principles of Peace, Reform, and Economy." This is the basis the King assented to, and should [he] be able to form a strong, honest, and efficient Government on such a basis, he may be assured of my humble support, without fear of being called a *rat*! I will transcribe what he says in his letter about you.

"It is a matter of course that I should be anxious to have Lord John's assistance, in some situation adequate to his just expectations, and talents, and to his power of rendering useful service to the publick."

I have requested Grey to write to you himself—in the event of your accepting office, Adam thinks that the writ may be so far delayed, as to avoid the trouble of expense of two Elections. I enclose his letter. I think he is right in saying that you need not wait for the Elections—after having called upon every freeholder, and given each a friendly shake of the hand, you may make an excuse of *urgent publick business*, and come away. I have desired him to delay the writ at all events.

I foresee great difficulties with Brougham. You will read his declaration in the House. I

found him at Holl^d. House last night under great excitement. Angry at having been persuaded to put off his Motion—too absurd! Lord Holland thinks he ought to resign his Reform Measures into the hands of the new Ministers. The lawyer thinks differently.

Your affectionate father,

B.

Let me hear from you.

I wish Wilson would not take to the *joking line*. He reminds me of what Sheridan said of Lauderdale. "A joke in Lauderdale's hands is no laughing matter!"

(136) *To the Freeholders of the Borough of Tavistock.*

LONDON, November 23, 1830.

GENTLEMEN,—Since I had the honor of paying my respects to you, it has pleased the King to confer upon me the office of Paymaster of the Army—but I have the satisfaction to think that the Ministry, which I have thus joined, is formed upon the principles to which I have ever been attached. The preservation of peace with Foreign Powers, a just and systematic economy at home, and a reform in the state of the representation are the main objects to which, in office or out of office, my votes in Parliament will ever be directed.

I regret that the urgency of public business

will not allow me to be present at the Election, but I rely with confidence on your indulgence on this occasion, and that you will not attribute my absence to any want of respect or regard.

I remain, Gentlemen,

Your faithful obedient servant,

J. RUSSELL.

(137) *Moore to Russell.*

S. WOLVERTON, *November 24, 1830.*

MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—It is a long, long time since we have taken any notice of each other, and, if you did not know me *not* to be a Courtier, my choosing *this* moment to put you in mind of me, when you are just become a man in office, might look somewhat suspicious. But, if ever I did expect any thing from any body, in the way of Place, that dream is long gone by, and it is far more with fears for them than with hopes for myself that I contemplate the accession of so many friends to office. For myself, my “crust of bread and liberty” is all I have or want, and while a Whig Administration is not likely to butter the former for me, it may but too much embarrass the latter by making me silent (for friendship’s sake) when a good grumble would be a relief to me. I shall, however, try hard not to abuse you, though that you’ll all want it before long I have very little doubt. The serious fact is, that we

are come to a pass where nobody can do any good. The country is going too fast *down* and people's minds too fast *up* for ever a Whig Ministry to reconcile these two opposite movements, and though you may delay the crash you cannot prevent it. At all events, "them's my sentiments," as some of our Irish orators say.

I wish you would tell me (though that's another calamity of one's friends being *in*, that you all get so official and diplomatic) what were the real facts connected with Lord Lansdowne's demur to office—if he really *did* demur, which I have no other authority for than rumour, backed by the circumstance of his having taken a situation so avowedly invaliding himself for active service.

God bless you, my dear Lord John—there are few in this world that wish you more heartily every earthly blessing than I do, and the only place I desire of you or ever shall is the little corner in that honest heart of yours, which is, I believe, now mine, and which (though I treat it so like a *sinecure* by never writing to you) you cannot doubt that I value.

Mrs. Moore (who luckily does not trouble herself so much with the reverse of the medal as I do) is all delight at your official elevation.

Ever yours most truly,

THOMAS MOORE.

(138) *Russell to some Correspondent.*

[Referring to events in France in 1830.]

PEMBROKE LODGE, RICHMOND PARK,

May 28, 1874.

SIR,—I can hardly answer you in the compass of a letter with respect to the policy of England under Lord Grey and Lord Palmerston, after the retirement of the Duke of Wellington from office in 1830. It is well known that the Duke of Wellington favoured the appointment of Prince Polignac as the Prime Minister of France. It is well known also that Charles the Xth, before his deposition, had designed a new partition of Europe; of which the chief object was to weaken the force and lower the reputation of England. It is well known also that the Whigs had proclaimed their principle, in the toast, “the cause of civil and religious liberty all over the world.”

Lord Palmerston, in joining the Whigs, thoroughly adopted this sentiment. Neither Louis Philippe nor Prince Talleyrand were faithful to the English alliance; but this does not prove that England ought to have thwarted France in her endeavour to make a free government.

I remember hearing M. Villamil say, that nobody but a King as stupid as Charles the Xth would have chosen for his Minister a man so stupid as Prince Polignac. It is quite true that to depress France and to prevent Belgium from being independent formed no part of the policy

of Lord Grey and Lord Palmerston, although they might have been the favorite objects of the Tory party. I remain,

Your faithful Servant,

RUSSELL.

P.S. There was no question at that time of the freedom of Italy.

(139) *William Russell to Russell.*

LAUSANNE, *January 14, 1831.*

(Postmark, London, *January 24, 1831.*)

MY DEAR JOHN,—You take my intemperate attack with your accustomed wisdom and good humour; it was not made in any spirit of hostility, but from a great desire that the Whigs should not fall into that error of which they are so commonly accused of holding one language out of office and another in office, but for which there are certainly many excuses, such as authentic information, documents, etc., etc.; however, you have promised us Reform, economy, and non-interference, and that is all we ask for; act up to your own Motto, and the Country will support you. Don't think that I attack you to every one, it was only to T. that I did so, and he wishes as well to your Ministry as I do; consequently it could do no harm, and a jog on the elbow, or a slap on the shoulder from a friend, was at all times esteemed a kind act, at least by all men who do not resemble the Archbishop of Grenada, and you must be aware

yourself, from your knowledge of human nature, that there is something in office which alters the vision, without the *Officist* being aware of it—consequently I offer to undertake the ungracious task of being your slapper unless you object to it; no one is more anxious than I am that you should keep your place, for your retreat from office would bring on us one of two misfortunes, the return of the Tories or a Ministry of wild Theorists—so for God's sake keep where you are; be honest, firm, wise, disinterested and diligent, and save us from the evils that threaten us. I have not the smallest doubt of the result if you act as you ought to do—the difficulties are certainly great, but you have with you the King, property, the constituted Authorities, the Press; and the People only wish for Justice, what have you to fear? O'Connell, I fear, will give you some trouble. . . . I have no wish whatever to be Minister in Switzerland, nor do I wish you to ask for anything of any sort or kind for me, but I certainly think we pay high for our diplomatic services and are badly served for the money—certainly great reforms would be desirable in that department, especially to introduce a system of simplicity and truth—lying and intriguing can never serve any cause.

Ever affectionately yours,

G. W. R.

END OF VOL. I.

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